THE LIBERATOR
— IS PUBLISHED —
EVERY FRIDAY MORNING,
— AT THE —
ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 21 CORNHILL.
ROBERT F. WALLCUT, General Agent.

☞ TERMS — Two dollars and fifty cents per annum, in advance.

☞ Five copies will be sent to one address for TEN DOLLARS, if payment be made in advance.

☞ All remittances are to be made, and all letters relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be directed, (POST PAID,) to the General Agent.

☞ Advertisements making less than one square inserted three times for 75 cents — one square for $1.00.

☞ The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are authorised to receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR.

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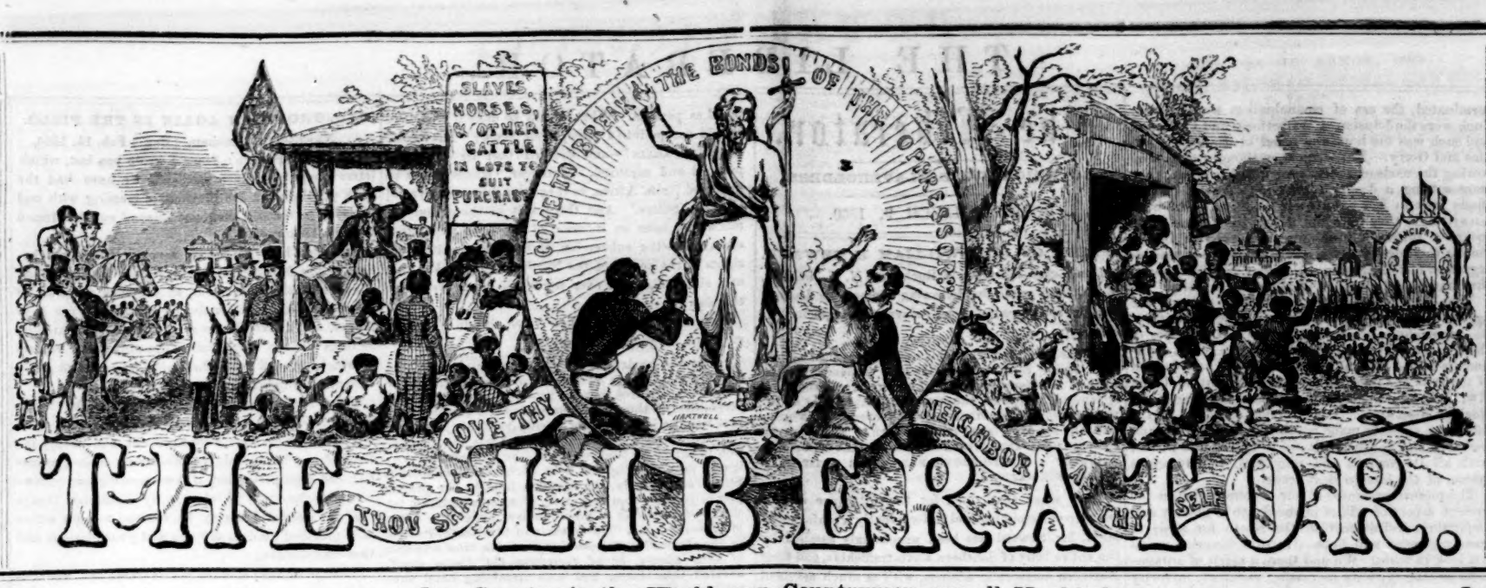
SLAVES, HORSES, & OTHER CATTLE IN LOTS TO SUIT PURCHASERS
"I COME TO BREAK THE BONDS OF THE OPPRESSOR"
HARTWELL
THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOR AS THY SELF

THE LIBERATOR.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXX. NO. 10. BOSTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 9, 1860. WHOLE NUMBER, 1524.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell.'

☞ 'The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but *they are without excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke.* On this subject, OUR FATHERS, IN FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE RIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and *must walk in it.* To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.' — WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

SELECTIONS.

SPEECH OF HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,

IN THE U. S. SENATE, FEB. 29,

On the Admission of Kansas into the Union.

The first portion of this speech is a condensed historical sketch of the progress of events in this country. The more important portion is the following:—

The choice of the nation is now between the Democratic party and the Republican party. Its principles and policy are, therefore, justly and even necessarily examined. I know of only one policy which it has adopted or avowed—namely, the saving of the Territories of the United States, it possible, by constitutional and lawful means, from being homes for slavery and polygamy. Who, that considers where this nation exists, of what races it is composed, in what age of the world it acts its part on the public stage, and what are its predominant institutions, customs, habits and sentiments, doubts that the Republican party can and will, if unwaveringly faithful to that policy, and just and loyal in all beside, carry it into triumphal success? To doubt is to be uncertain whether civilization can improve or Christianity save mankind.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

I may, perhaps, infer from the necessity of the case, that it will, in all courts and places, stand by the freedom of speech and of the press, and the constitutional rights of freemen everywhere; that it will favor the speedy improvement of the public domain by homestead laws, and will encourage mining, manufacture and internal commerce, with needful connections between the Atlantic and Pacific States—for all these are important interests of freedom. For all the rest, the national emergences, not individual influences, must determine, as society goes on, the policy and character of the Republican party. Already bearing its part in legislation and in treaties, it feels the necessity of being practical in its care of the national health and life, while it leaves metaphysical speculation to those whose duty it is to cultivate the ennobling science of political philosophy.

WHAT IT ENCOUNTERS.

But in the midst of these subjects, or rather, before fully reaching them, the Republican party encounters, unexpectedly, a new and potential issue—one prior, and therefore paramount to all others, one of national life and death. Just as if so much had not been already conceded; nay, just as if nothing at all had ever been conceded, to the interest of capital invested in men, we hear menaces of disunion, louder, more distinct, more emphatic than ever, with the condition annexed, that they shall be executed the moment that a Republican Administration, though constitutionally elected, shall assume the Government.

I do not certainly know that the people are prepared to call such an Administration to power. I know only, that through a succession of floods which never greatly excite, and ebbs which never entirely discourage me, the volume of Republicanism rises continually higher and higher. They are probably wise, whose apprehensions admonish them that it is already strong enough for effect.

HAS IT PLUCK?

Hitherto the Republican party has been content with one self-interrogatory—how many votes it can cast? These threats enforce another—has it determination enough to cast them? This latter question touches its spirit and its pride. I am quite sure, however, that as it has hitherto practised self-denial in so many other forms, it will, in this emergency, lay aside all impatience of temper, together with all ambition, and will consider these extraordinary declamations seriously, and with a just moderation. It would be a waste of words to demonstrate that they are unconstitutional, and equally idle to show that the responsibility for disunion, attempted or effected, must not rest with those who in the exercise of constitutional authority maintain the government, but with those who unconstitutionally engage in the mad work of subverting it.

What are the excuses for these menaces? They resolve themselves into this, that the Republican party in the North is hostile to the South. But it already is proved to be a majority in the North; it is, therefore, practically the people of the North. Will it not still be the same North that has forborne with you so long, and conceded to you so much? Can you justly assume that affection which has been so complying, can all at once change to hatred intense and inexorable?

You say that the Republican party is a sectional one. Is the Democratic party less sectional? Is it easier for us to bear your sectional sway, than for you to bear ours? Is it unreasonable that for once we should alternate? But is the Republican party sectional? Not unless the Democratic party is. The Republican party prevails in the House of Representatives sometimes; the Democratic party in the Senate always. Which of the two is the most proscriptive? Come, if you will, into the free States, into the State of New York, anywhere from Lake Erie to Sag Harbor, among my neighbors in the Owasco valley, hold your conventions, nominate your candidates, address the people, submit to them, fully, earnestly, eloquently, all your complaints and grievances of northern disloyalty, oppression, perfidy; keep nothing back, speak just as freely and as loudly there as you do here; you will have hospitable welcomes, and appreciating audiences, with ballot-boxes open for all the votes you can win. Are you less sectional than this? Extend to us the same privileges, and I will engage that you will very soon have in the South as many Republicans as we have Democrats in the North. There is, however, a better test of nationality than the accidental location of parties. Our policy of labor in the Territories was not sectional, in the first forty years of the Republic. Its nature inheres. It will be national again, during the third forty years, and forever afterwards. It is not wise and beneficent for us alone or injurious to you alone. Its effects are equal, and the same for us all.

WHAT THE REPUBLICANS ARE ACCUSED OF.

You accuse the Republican party of ulterior and secret designs. How can a party that counts its votes in this land of free speech and free press by the hundreds of thousands, have any secret designs? Who is the conjuror, and where are the hidden springs by which he can control its uncongregated and widely-dispersed masses, and direct them to objects unseen and purposes unavowed? But what are these hidden purposes? You name only one. That one is to introduce negro equality among you. Suppose we had the power to change your social system: what warrant have you for supposing that we would carry negro equality among you? We know, and we will show you, if you will only give heed, that what our system of labor works out, wherever it works out anything, is the equality of white men. The laborer in the free States, no matter how humble his occupation, is a white man, and he is politically the equal of his employer. Eighteen of our thirty-three States are free-labor States. There they are: Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, California and Oregon. I do not array them in contrast with the capital States. I am no assailant of States. All of the States are parcels of my own country—the best of them not so wise and great as I am sure it will hereafter be; the State least developed and perfected among them all, is wiser and better than any foreign State I know. Is it, then, in any, and in which of the States I have named, that negro equality offends the white man's pride? Throughout the wide world, where is the State where class and caste are so utterly extinguished as they are in each and every one of them? Let the European immigrant, who avoids the African as if his skin exhaled contagion, answer. You find him always in the State where labor is ever free. Did Washington, Jefferson, and Henry, when they implored you to relinquish your system and accept the one we have adopted, propose to sink you down to the level of the African, or was it their desire to exalt all white men to a common political elevation?

But we do not seek to force, or even to intrude, our system on you. We are excluded justly, wisely, and contentedly, from all political power and responsibility in your capital States. You are sovereign on the subject of slavery within your own borders, as we are on the same subject within our borders. It is well and wisely so arranged. Use your authority to maintain what system you please. We are not distrustful of the result. We have wisely, as we think, exercised ours to protect and perfect the manhood of the members of the State. The whole sovereignty upon domestic concerns, within the Union is divided between us by unmistakable boundaries. You have your fifteen distinct parts; we eighteen parts, equally distinct. Each must be maintained in order that the whole may be preserved. If ours should be assailed, within or without, by any enemy, or for any cause, and we shall have need, we shall expect you to defend it. If yours shall be so assailed, in the emergency, no matter what the cause or the pretext, or who the foe, we shall defend your sovereignty as the equivalent of our own. We cannot, indeed, accept your system of capital or its ethics. That would be to surrender and subvert our own, which we esteem to be better. Besides, if we could, what need for any division into States at all? You are equally at liberty to reject our system and its ethics, and to maintain the superiority of your own by all the forces of persuasion and argument. We must, indeed, mutually discuss both systems. All the world discusses all systems. Especially must we discuss them since we have to decide, as a nation, which of the two we ought to engraft on the new and future States growing up in the great public domain. Discussion, then, being unavoidable, what could be more wise than to conduct it with mutual toleration and in a fraternal spirit?

You complain that Republicans discourse too boldly and directly, when they express with confidence their belief that the system of labor will, in the end, be universally accepted by the capital States, acting for themselves, and in conformity with their own constitutions, while they sanction too unreservedly books designed to advocate emancipation. But, surely, you can hardly expect the Federal Government, or the political parties of the nation, to maintain a censorship of the press or of debate. The theory of our system is, that error of opinion may in all cases safely be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it. Will it be claimed that more of moderation and tenderness in debate are exhibited on your side of the great argument than our own? We all learned our polemics, as well as our principles, from a common master. We are sure that we do not, on our side, exceed his lessons and the example. Thomas Jefferson addressed Dr. Price, an Englishman, concerning his treatise on emancipation in America, in this fashion:

'Southward of the Chesapeake, your book will find but few readers concurring with it in sentiment, on the subject of slavery. From the mouth to the head of the Chesapeake, the bulk of the people will approve it in theory, and it will find a respectable minority ready to adopt it in practice; a minority which, for weight and worth of character, preponderates against the greater number who have not the courage to divest their families of a property which, however, keeps their consciences unquiet. Northward of the Chesapeake, you may find here and there an opponent to your doctrine, as you may find here and there a robber or a murderer; but in no greater number. * * * * * This [Virginia] is the next State to which we may turn our eyes for the interesting spectacle of justice in conflict with avarice and oppression—a conflict where the sacred side is gaining daily new recruits from the influx into office of young men, grown and growing up. * * * * Be not, then, discouraged. What you have written will do a great deal of good; and could you still trouble yourself about our welfare, no man is more able to help the laboring side.'

You see, sir, that when we go for or against slavery anywhere, we must follow southern guides. You may change your pilots with the winds or the currents; but we, whose nativity, reckoned under the North Star, has rendered us somewhat superstitious, must be excused for constancy in following the guidance of those who framed the national ship, and gave us the chart for its noble voyage.

SOMETHING FURTHER ABOUT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

A profound respect and friendly regard for the Vice President of the United States has induced me to weigh carefully the testimony he has given on the subject of the hostility against the South imputed to the Republican party, as derived from the relations of the representatives of the two parties at this capital. He says that he has seen here, in the representatives of the lower Southern States, a most resolute and earnest spirit of resistance to the Republican party; that he perceives a sensible loss of that spirit of brotherhood and that feeling of loyalty, together with that love for a common country, which are at last the surest cement of the Union; so that, in the present unhappy condition of affairs, he is almost tempted to exclaim, that we are dissolving, week by week and month by month; that the threads are gradually fretting themselves asunder; and a stranger might suppose that the Executive of the United States was the President of two hostile Republics. It is not for me to raise a doubt upon the correctness of this dark picture, so far as the Southern groups upon the canvas are concerned; but I must be indulged in the opinion that I can pronounce as accurately concerning the Northern or Republican representatives here as any one. I know their public haunts and their private ways. We are not a hostile Republic, or representatives of one. We confer together, but only as the organs of every party do, and must do, in a political system which obliges us to act sometimes as partisans, while it requires us always to be patriots and statesmen. Differences of opinion, even on the subject of slavery, with us are political, not social or personal differences. There is not one disunionist or disloyalist among us all. We are altogether unconscious of any process of dissolution going on among us or around us. We have never been more patient, and never loved the representatives of other sections more, than now. We bear the same testimony for the people around us here, who, though in the very centre where the bolt of disunion must fall first, and be most fearful in its effects, seem never less disturbed than now. We bear the same testimony for all the districts and States we represent. The people of the North are not enemies, but friends and brethren of the South, faithful and true as in the days when death has dealt his arrows promiscuously among them on common battle-fields of freedom.

We will not suffer ourselves here to dwell on any evidences of a different temper in the South; but we shall be content with expressing our belief that hostility that is not designedly provoked, and that cannot provoke retaliation, is an anomaly that must be traced to casual excitements, which cannot perpetuate alienation.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

A canvass for a presidential election, in some respects more important, perhaps, than any since 1800, has recently begun. The House of Representatives was to be organized by a majority, while no party could cast more than a plurality of votes.

THE HARPER'S FERRY TRAGEDY.

The gloom of the late tragedy in Virginia rested on the Capitol from the day when Congress assembled. While the two great political parties were peacefully, lawfully and constitutionally, though zealously, conducting the great national issue between free labor and capital labor for the Territories to its popular solution, through the trials of the ballot, operating directly or indirectly on the various departments of the Government, a band of exceptional men, contemptuous equally of that great question and of the parties to the controversy, and impatient of the constitutional system which confines the citizens of every State to political action by suffrage in organized parties within their own borders, inspired by an enthusiasm peculiar to themselves, and exasperated by grievances and wrongs that some of them had suffered by inroads of armed propagandists of slavery in Kansas, unlawful as their own retaliation was, attempted to subvert slavery in Virginia by conspiracy, ambush, invasion and force. The method we have adopted, of appealing to the reason and judgment of the people, to be pronounced by suffrage, is the only one by which free government can be maintained anywhere, and the only one, as yet devised, which is in harmony with the spirit of the Christian religion. While generous and charitable natures will probably concede that John Brown and his associates acted on earnest though fatally erroneous convictions, yet all good citizens will nevertheless agree that this attempt to execute an unlawful purpose in Virginia by invasion, involving servile war, was an act of sedition and treason, and criminal in just the extent that it affected the public peace, and was destructive of human happiness and human life.

ITS ACTORS.

It is a painful reflection that, after so long an experience of the beneficent working of our system as we have enjoyed, we have had these new illustrations in Kansas and Virginia, of the existence among us of a class of men so misguided and so desperate as to seek to enforce their peculiar principles by the sword, drawing after it a need for the further illustration, by their punishment, of that great moral truth, especially applicable in a Republic, that they who take up the sword as a weapon of controversy shall perish by the sword. In the latter case, the lamented deaths of so many citizens, slain from an ambush and by surprise—all the more lamentable because they were innocent victims of a frenzy kindled without their agency in far distant fires—the deaths even of the offenders themselves, pitiable, although necessary and just, because they acted under delirium, which blinded their judgment to the real nature of their criminal enterprise; the alarm and consternation naturally awakened throughout the country, exciting for the moment the fear that our whole system, with all its securities for life and liberty, was coming to an end—a fear none the more endurable because continually aggravated by new chimeras to which the great leading event lent an air of probability: surely all these constituted a sum of public misery which ought to have satisfied the most morbid appetite for social horrors. But, as in the case of the gunpowder plot, and the Salem witchcraft, and the New York colonial negro plot, so now; the original actors were swiftly followed by another and kindred class, who sought to prolong and widen the public distress by attempting to direct the indignation which it had excited against parties guiltless equally of complicity and of sympathy with the offenders.

Posterity will decide in all the recent cases, where political responsibility for public disasters must fall; and posterity will give little heed to our instructions. It was not until the gloomy reign of Domitian had ended, and liberty and virtue had found assured refuge under the sway of the milder Nerva, that the historian arose whose narrative of that period of tyranny and terror has been accepted by mankind.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY THE UNION PARTY.

The Republican party being thus vindicated against the charge of hostility to the South, which has been offered in excuse for the menaces of unconstitutional resistance in the event of its success, I feel well assured that it will sustain me in meeting them in the spirit of the defender of the English Commonwealth:

'Surely, they that shall boast as we do to be a free nation, and having the power, shall not also have the courage, to remove, constitutionally, every Governor, whether he be the supreme or subordinate, may please their fancy with a ridiculous and painted freedom, fit to cozen babies, but are, indeed, under tyranny and servitude, as wanting that power, which is the root and source of all liberty, to dispose of and economize in the land which God hath given them, as members of family in their own home and free inheritance. Without which natural and essential power of a free nation, though bearing high their heads, they can, in due esteem, be thought no better than slaves and vassals born in the tenure and occupation of another inheriting lord, whose government, though not illegal or intolerable, hangs on them as a lordly scourge, not as a free government.'

The Republican party knows, as the whole country will ultimately come to understand, that the noblest objects of national life must perish, if that life itself shall be lost, and therefore it will accept the issue tendered. It will take up the word Union, which others are so willing to renounce, and, combining it with that other glorious thought, Liberty, which has been its inspiration so long, it will move firmly onward, with the motto inscribed on its banner, 'UNION and LIBERTY, come what may, in victory as in defeat, in power as out of power, now and forever.'

If the Republican party maintain the Union, who and what party is to assail it? Only the Democratic party, for there is no other. Will the Democratic party take up the assault? The menaces of disunion are made, though not in its name, yet in its behalf. It must avow or disavow them. Its silence thus far, is portentous, but is not alarming. The effect of its intimidation, if successful, would be to continue the rule of the Democratic party, though a minority, by terror. It certainly ought to need no more than this to secure the success of the Republican party. If, indeed, the time has come when the Democratic party must rule by terror, instead of ruling through conceded public confidence, then it is quite certain that it cannot be dismissed from power too soon. Ruling on that odious principle, it cannot long save either the Constitution or public liberty. But I shall not believe the Democratic party will consent to stand in this position, though it does through the action of its representatives seem to cover and sustain those who threaten disunion. I know the Democracy of the North. I know them now in their waning strength. I do not know a possible disunionist among them all. I believe they will be as faithful to the Union now as they were in the bygone days when their ranks were full, and their challenge to the combat was always the warcry of victory. But, if it shall prove otherwise, then the world will all the sooner know that every party in this country must stand on Union ground; that the American people will sustain no party that is not capable of making a sacrifice of its ambition on the altar of the country; that, although a party may have never so much of prestige, and never such traditional merit, yet, if it be lacking in the one virtue of loyalty to the Union, all its advantages will be unavailing; and then obnoxious as, through long cherished and obstinate prejudices, the Republican party is in the capital State, yet even there it will advance like an army with banners, winning the favor of the whole people, and it will be armed with the national confidence and support, when it shall be found the only party that defends and maintains the integrity of the Union.

THE UNION TERROR EXCITORS.

Those who seek to awaken the terrors of disunion seem to me to have too hastily considered the conditions under which they are to make their attempt. Who believes that a Republican administration and Congress could practice tyranny under a Constitution which imposes so many checks as ours? Yet that tyranny must not only be practised, but must be intolerable, and there must be no remaining hope for constitutional relief, before forcible resistance can find ground to stand on anywhere.

The people of the United States, acting in conformity with the Constitution, are the supreme tribunal to try and determine all political issues. They are as competent to decide the issues of today, as they have been heretofore to decide the issues of other days. They can reconsider hereafter, and reverse, if need be, the judgment they shall pronounce to-day, as they have more than once reconsidered and reversed their judgments in former times. It needs no revolution to correct any error, or prevent any danger under any circumstances.

Nor is any new or special cause for revolution likely to occur under a Republican administration. We are engaged in no new transaction, not even in a new dispute. Our fathers undertook a great work for themselves, for us, and for our successors—to erect a Federal empire, whose arches shall span the North American continent, and reflect the rays of the sun throughout his whole passage from the one to the other of the great oceans. They erected thirteen of its colums all at once. These are standing now, the admiration of mankind. Their successors added twenty more; even we who are here have shaped and elevated three of that twenty, and all these are as firm and steadfast as the first thirteen; and more will yet be necessary, when we shall have rested from our labors. Some among us prefer for these columns a composite material; others, the pure, white marble. Our fathers and predecessors differed in the same way, and on the same point. What execrations should we not all unite in pronouncing on any statesman who heretofore, from mere disappointment and disgust at being overruled in his choice of materials for any new column then to be quarried, should have laid violent hands on the imperfect structure, and brought it down to the earth, there to remain a wreck, instead of a citadel of a world's best hopes!

THE FOLLY OF DISUNION THREATS.

I remain now in the opinion I have uniformly expressed here and elsewhere, that these hasty threats of disunion are so unnatural that they will find no hand to execute them. We are of one race, language, liberty, and faith; engaged, indeed, in varied industry; but even that industry, so diversified, brings us into more intimate relations with each other than any other people, however homogeneous, and though living under a consolidated Government, ever maintained. We languish throughout, if one joint of our Federal frame is smitten; while it is certain that a part dissevered must perish. You may refine as you please about the structure of the Government, and say that it is a compact, and that a breach, by one of the States or by Congress, of any one article, absolves all the members from allegiance, and that the States may separate when they have, or fancy they have cause for war. But once try to subvert it, and you will find that it is a Government of the whole people—as individuals, as well as a compact of States—that every individual member of the body politic is conscious of his interest and power in it, and knows that he will be helpless, powerless, hopeless, when it shall have gone down. Mankind have a natural right, a natural instinct, and a natural capacity for self-government; and when, as here, they are sufficiently ripened by culture, they will and must have self-government, and no other.

THE CONSTITUTION AND ITS MECHANISM.

The framers of our Constitution, with a wisdom that surpassed all previous understanding among men, adapted it to these inherent elements of human nature. He strangely, blindly misunderstands the anatomy of the great system, who thinks that its only bonds, or even its strongest ligaments, are the written compact, or even the multiplied and thoroughly ramified roads and thoroughfares of trade, commerce and social intercourse. These are strong indeed, but its chiefest instruments of cohesion—those which render it inseparable and indivisible—are the millions of fibers of millions of contented, happy human hearts, binding by their affections, their ambitions, and their best hopes, equally the high and the low, the rich and the poor, the wise and the unwise, the learned and the untutored, even the good and the bad, to a Government, the first, the last, and the only such one that has ever existed, which takes equal heed always of their wants, their wishes, and their opinions; and appeals to them all, individually, once in a year, or in two years, or at least in four years, for their expressed consent and renewal, without which it must cease. No, go where you will, and to what class you may, with commissions for your fatal service in one hand, and your bounty counted by the hundred or the thousand pieces of silver in the other, a thousand registers will rise up for every recruit you can engage. On the banks equally of the St. Lawrence and of the Rio Grande, on the Atlantic and on the Pacific coasts, on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico and in the dells of the Rocky Mountains, among the fishermen on the banks of Newfoundland, the waves and spinners of Massachusetts, the stevedores of New York, the miners of Pennsylvania, Pike's Peak, and California, the wheat-growers of Indiana, the cotton and sugar planters on the Mississippi, among the voluntary citizens from every other land not less than the native born, the Christian and the Jew, among the Indians on the prairies, the contumacious Mormon in the Desert, the Africans free, the Africans in bondage, the inmates of hospitals and almshouses, and even the criminals in the penitentiaries, rehearse the story of your wrongs and their own never so eloquently and never so mournfully, and appeal to them to rise. They will ask you, 'Is this all?' 'Are you more just than Washington, wiser than Hamilton, more humane than Jefferson? What new form of government or of union have you the power to establish, or even the cunning to devise, that will be more just, more safe, more free, more gentle, more beneficent, or more glorious than this?' And by these simple interrogations you will be silenced and confounded.

Mr. President, we are perpetually forgetting this subtle and complex, yet obvious and natural mechanism of our Constitution; and because we do forget it, we are continually wondering how it is that a Confederacy of thirty and more States, covering regions so vast, and regulating interests so various of so many millions of men, constituted and conditioned so diversely, works right on. We are continually looking to see it stop and stand still, or fall suddenly into pieces. But, in truth, it will not stop; it cannot stop; it was made not to stop, but to keep in motion—in motion always, and without force. For my own part, as this wonderful machine, when it had newly come from the hands of its almost divine inventors, was the admiration of my earlier years, although it was then but imperfectly known abroad, so now, when it forms the central figure in the economy of the world's civilization, and the best sympathies of mankind favor its continuance, I expect that it will stand and work right on until men shall fear its failure no more than we now apprehend that the sun will cease to hold its eternal place in the heavens.

Nevertheless, I do not expect to see this purely popular, though majestic, system always working on unattended by the presence and exhibition of human temper and human passions. That would be to expect to enjoy rewards, benefits and blessings, without labor, care and watchfulness, an expectation contrary to divine appointment. These are the discipline of the American citizen, and he must inure himself to it. When, as now, a great policy fastened upon the country through its doubts and fears, confirmed by its habits and strengthened by personal interests and ambitions, is to be relaxed and changed, in order that the nation may have its just and natural and free development, then, indeed, all the winds of controversy are let loose upon us from all points of the political compass, and we see objects and men only through hazes, mists, and doubtful and lurid lights.

The earth seems to be heaving under our feet, and the pillars of the noble fabric that protects us to be trembling before our eyes. But the appointed end of all this agitation comes at last, and always seasonably; the tumults of the people subside; the country becomes calm once more; and then we find that only our senses have been disturbed, and that they have betrayed us. The earth is firm as always before, and the wonderful structure, for whose safety we have feared so anxiously, now more firmly fixed than ever, still stands unmoved, enduring and immovable.

LETTER FROM THE MOTHER OF COPPIC TO GOV. LETCHER.

SPRINGDALE, Iowa, 2d Mo., 2d, 1860.

GOVERNOR LETCHER—It is under circumstances of a very painful and afflicting nature that I am now induced to address thee, although personally a stranger. Some time last summer two of my sons, Edwin and Barclay, left home without informing me of their destination or designs. On hearing of the unlawful outbreak at Harper's Ferry, we learned, with great surprise and horror, that Edwin was engaged there, in an action so unlike his previous course of conduct. At first, our sympathies were enlisted on your side, feeling that your rights had been invaded. Had you let common law and justice take its course, and only punished the intruders according to their deserts, the sympathies of the world might still have been with you. But since you have suffered yourselves to run wild with rage and insane revenge, which you are still endeavoring to carry to the utmost, the tide has turned against you, so that John Brown's highest aims may yet be attained.

Was there ever such a farce acted in a professedly Christian nation? 'We have a law, and by our law he ought to die,' seems to have been the ruling principle of that pretended court of justice. Fifteen northern men have been murdered, in one way or another, in revenge for the five killed by them in self-defence. (If they killed more than five, you have not told us of it.) Poor old Brown, knocked down after he had surrendered, and then knocked after he was down, in a most cowardly manner! Two were killed after they had surrendered; two more were shot while bearing a flag of truce in the open street; another was literally riddled with balls, on the bridge. One of the principal actors in this bloody deed had the audacity to boast of it in open court. All this is contrary to the laws of war, as well as most inhuman. Five more, after being insulted by a farcical representation of the forms of law, were hanged, as had undoubtedly been predetermined. Two more you are probably reserving for the same fate; although one, whom you call Hazlett, no one has been found to recognize; yet, judging from analogy, it is presumed he will have to die. There were people of good feeling and benevolence in Charlestown and vicinity, who, after getting acquainted with Edwin, finding him to be a pleasant and benevolent man, joined their efforts with those of his numerous friends in other parts of the United States, to try to have his sentence mitigated; and although really clear, in the eyes of the public, of all those shameful charges cast upon him, yet what was the result? Why, he must be strangled to death; and for what? To gratify a revengeful feeling, so prevalent in Southern brains, when a spark of ignited combustion rarifies them. This peculiar quality in the Southern character, having 'I will' for its motto, with so little specific gravity in the shape of true Christian dignity, is what every one's good sound sense ridicules, and God abhors. You have hanged five of your fellow-creatures, up between the heavens and the earth, for endeavoring to put into practical form the great principles of the brotherhood of man, promulgated by Christ, endorsed by the fathers of the Republic, and the basis of the Christian Church: thereby shaming humanity and mocking God, who has said, 'Thou shalt not kill,' and 'Love thy enemies.' Their blood will be a testimony against you. But the most disgraceful part, the most contemptible for the 'Great State of Virginia' to do, remains to be told.

You are hunting, all through the land, a poor fatherless boy, who somebody has said that somebody imagined had had some connection with Brown; but who really never signed any Constitution or pledge of allegiance to Brown; nor was he in Virginia at the time of the Harper's Ferry affair, neither has he, at any time, injured any of you. Yet you are chasing him with biped bloodhounds and big bloated marshals, secret patrols and spies, and, most inhuman of all, the thousand dollars reward for him, dead or alive, to encourage the offscouring of creation to murder him, if an opportunity should offer. Some of these things I could scarcely credit, until a requisition sent from thyself to our Governor capped the climax. We all considered this an insult to the Governor, as well as to the State of Iowa. Could you get Barclay, what would you have? It reminds me of Æsop's fable of the mountain in labor, which brought forth a mouse; and of David's appeal to Saul—'After whom is the King of Israel come out? After whom dost thou pursue? After a dead dog? After a flea?' My son is just recovering from a severe attack of asthma, so bad that he could not lie down, nor scarcely breathe; yet, all the while, rumors were afloat that an officer or a mob were coming to take him. Would Virginia mothers like to be placed in my situation? Our Northern Bibles say, 'Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you'; 'Visit the widow and fatherless, and them that have none to help them.' You say, 'Hang the fatherless, chase them for a prey, shoot them down, let their mother's gray hairs go down to the grave with sorrow.' I would not write thus, did not facts stare me in the face. My spirit grieves for you, and my soul is in mourning for my country. Although the plans and schemes of the wicked have been confounded, and my poor consumptive boy has thus far been preserved, through all his suffering by cold and starvation in the mountains, and from the clutches of rapacious men, yet I would be willing to give up this son, also, with the addition of my own life, if, thereby, the distressed bondsmen might be liberated, and their masters purged of their sins. You hang men for murder, while, at the same time, you are encouraging it by your rewards. You are hanging men for treason, when thou thyself hath uttered treasonable sentiments in thy inaugural message, and when Southern members of Congress are continually obtruding it before the people. If you want to leave the Union so badly, why don't you go? Who forbids you? Where is the Northerner who would not count it a good riddance to be clear of helping you to hold four millions of human beings in slavery? Who among them would not like to see the pinions of the American Eagle stretch from Maine to California, north of Mason and Dixon's line, over a great and enlightened Republic, where free vegetation springs up and expands under the dews and rains of Heaven, and not under the tears and blood of the slave? where the cultivators of the soil are free to think and speak, and free to perform their whole duty to God and man; where the man-hunter and kidnapper is practically unknown; where honest Irishmen do not get abused and insulted, merely for saying that free labor is better than slave labor, and for trying to obtain their just dues; where respectable citizens are not driven from their homes because they hold unpopular opinions; where worthy school teachers are not sent off, at an hour's notice, for a trifling remark; where the backs of ministers of the gospel are not scored by the merciless lash; and where the jails are not filled with honest men? But if you separate, do so peaceably, and see how long you can hold your slaves without us.

Since writing the foregoing, information has been received that the second requisition has been sent from thee to Gov. Kirkwood, (the first having failed through informality.) Still pressing thy hostilities against a poor old Quaker woman and her innocent son, who never hurt a hair of thy head, nor that of the Virginians! But go the length of your chain. You are making radical abolitionists faster than scores of Northern lecturers could do it. Did it never occur to your minds that a few thousand of these might pay you a hostile visit? You seem to be giving them such strong invitations in your rash conduct, that it is quite uncertain what they may do. Many of them have neither the peace principles of the Society of Friends, nor the cool heads of the Republicans. Their visit, therefore, might be as unwelcome as that of the nineteen, and rather more dangerous.

In conclusion, I would say, that the times appear to be awfully portentous, and seem to predict some great calamity. 'Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people.' I fear that our nation is involved in clouds and thick darkness, even that which may be felt. Has not the impress of blood been reflected from the future, glaring down upon us from our American skies? Yes, the old men have seen visions, and the young ones have dreamed dreams, reminding us of the ancient Jews, who received signs, wonders and prophecies, that their nation should be destroyed, if they did not repent of their wickedness. But they still continued in their self-sufficiency and boasted exaltation, until, according to Josephus, their general, the Almighty left them to be destroyed. It is said that eleven hundred thousand of them miserably perished within and around the walls of Jerusalem, and the remnant were scattered among the nations of the earth. The positive commands of the Creator of the universe are not to be disobeyed with impunity, although justice may linger. Some of our wisest and ablest statesmen have told us that they tremble for their country, because of the wicked and dangerous character of some of its institutions. The eyes of Europe are upon us; the civilized world condemns us; the Christian is mourning our departure from the paths of true Christian love.

Thy friend, ANN L. RALEY.

N. B. As thou seems so very anxious to have Barclay visit you, if he chooses to go, I shall expect him to receive that kind hospitality at thy house that one of thy sons would receive from me. Perhaps a few months in the genial climate of Virginia might prove beneficial to his health. I think you would soon become attached to him, as he is a pleasant boy, and loves dry jokes. A. L. R.

COL. FORBES.

Col. Forbes, of the Harper's Ferry 'disclosures' notoriety, quitted New York for Liverpool in the early part of November last. He left in the ship John Bright, under an assumed name, wearing a false beard and moustache, and otherwise disguised, and gave out that he was going to Canada. His assigned reasons for recrossing the Atlantic were, first, an apprehension that he might receive a not-to-be disputed requisition for his presence in Washington; second, that his personal safety, and even existence, were endangered by the enmity and apprehensions of the persons implicated by his 'disclosures;' third, a disgust for all 'humanitarians' and Yankees. He proposes remaining in London, there to await an opportunity for resuming his former avocation of amateur Italian patriot and revolutionist.—*Tribune.*

☞ The bill abolishing slavery in Kansas, which was vetoed by Gov. Medary, has been passed, over is veto, by a vote of 30 to 7.

From the Newcastle-on-Tyne Chronicle, of Feb. 9.

MR. THOMPSON'S ANTI-SLAVERY ORATION.

The Lecture Room, Nelson Street, last evening, was again filled by an audience of great respectability, for the purpose of hearing Mr. George Thompson's second anti-slavery lecture, which was entitled 'The Present State of the Conflict between Freedom and Slavery in the United States, and the Cheering Aspects of the Anti-Slavery Cause, with the Duty of Great Britain on the Subject.' Mr. John Mawson occupied the chair.

The CHAIRMAN remarked that he had been elevated to the position he occupied, in consequence of the unavoidable absence of the Mayor. Considering the inclemency of the weather, and the various other attractions at present in existence in Newcastle, the numerous attendance that evening was an evidence that the old anti-slavery zeal for which this town had ever been distinguished was not yet dead. He exhorted them, however, not to let their exertions in this cause cease as soon as they had expressed sympathy with its advocates; but to work for the emancipation of the slave in as practical a manner as they possibly could. He then introduced the lecturer.

Mr. THOMPSON spoke as follows: The time will come (and may God hasten it!) when the inhabitants of Christendom will look back with horror and astonishment upon the state of things which now exists. Vessels, sailing under the flags of nominally Christian nations, carrying to the shores of nominally Christian countries cargoes of human beings, torn from their homes in heathen Africa, and sold as beasts of burden to men who have been baptised into the Christian faith! Seven millions of such persons, and their descendants, held in brutal bondage, and daily lashed to uncompensated toil; and four millions of these in the United States, the land of freedom, independence, and republicanism; of bibles, Sabbaths, Sunday-schools, missionaries, and revivals; but where infants are sold by weight from the scales of the slave-breeder, where female virtue lies prostrate before lustful tyranny; where it is death for the second offence of teaching a slave to read; where deliberate murder is beyond the reach of punishment; and where the gift of Divine grace but augments a man's value upon the auction block. Such is the general aspect of slavery and the slave trade. We are assembled to-night to contemplate the present gigantic and terribly sublime struggle which is taking place in America between the antagonistic principles of slavery and freedom; a struggle, on the one side, for the maintenance of despotic power over the bodies, souls, and actions of four millions stolen human beings; and on the other, for the establishment of the right of man, without respect to color, or condition, to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It is a struggle between light and darkness, truth and falsehood, good and evil, Christ and Belial.

In the confederation of the original thirteen States, and the adoption of a constitution for their federal government, there was an attempt, for the first time, to embrace in one voluntary political system an entire continent, including various populations, radically diverse in origin, pursuits, condition, races, and character. It was, in fact, a confederacy of natives, almost as distinct as the nations of Europe. The constitution agreed to was of the nature of a compromise between the opposing ideas of separate sovereignty and blended nationality. The fatal error committed by those who framed the constitution was that of making it the perpetual and omnipotent bulwark of slavery, and of committing the free States, through all future time, to its support; constituting them, indeed, the guardians and conservators of the system. 'On this subject (says Dr. Channing) our fathers swerved from the right; we, their children, see the path of duty more clearly, and must walk in it. . . . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong-doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.' The growth, multiplication, and extension of slave States in America has been steadily progressive. From five, they have become fifteen; and the slaves, who were 600,000 at the time of the Revolution, have became 4,000,000—a population exceeding that of the whole of the thirteen colonies, bond and free, when the Declaration of Independence was signed, on the 4th of July, 1776. From the time that George Washington ascended the Presidential chair, until now, the domestic and foreign policy of the United States has been dictated and controlled by the Slave States. Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Munroe, Jackson, Polk, and Taylor were slaveholders, and all but two were re-elected. John Adams, John Quincy Adams, Van Buren, and Pierce, were non-slaveholders, but were never re-elected; and while they were in power were subservient to the slave oligarchy of the South. No man, before the last election, ever had a chance of elevation, or was so much as nominated by any great political party, until he had prostrated himself in the dust before the South, and vowed perpetual allegiance to the foul demon of slavery. For more than seventy years there has been an attempt to harmonise two radically distinct social States, and to make them move smoothly onwards under one common form of government. It has been as if ancient and modern Europe had joined hands—had been yoked to draw in the same harness, and plow in the same field. For better for worse, on the basis of a compromise which ignored and annihilated the rights of a portion of the children of the soil, the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States were committed by the act of union to a common destiny. The result reads to us and all mankind a lesson. It shows how unstable the best-devised superstructure of government is, which rests for its foundation on injustice, proscription, and wrong. The Constitution of the United States contained the seminal principle of another revolution. It might as well have been founded upon the atheistical proposition, 'There is no God,' or upon the principle that 'man has no rights,' as upon an agreement to hold in everlasting slavery a portion of the home-born population of the soil, and to bind their successors to the latest generation by the unholy, God-defying and inhuman compact. Had not the framers and signers of that constitution just come victoriously out of a bloody war with the sovereign and imperial Parliament of the mother country, waged in resistance to unjust taxation? Had they not carried with them through that war the sympathies of a large part of the civilized world? Had they not based their assertion of independence upon the self-evident truth that 'all men are free and equal,' and that 'taxation without representation is tyranny,' and should be resisted unto death? Was it not a colored man who first baptised the cause of American liberty in his own blood? Did not the colored man stand shoulder to shoulder with the white man in the ranks of death, when Washington led his raw recruits against the King's troops? And was it consistent with principle, or honor, or gratitude, or reason, or humanity, or the law of God, when conquest and independence had crowned the revolutionary struggle, to sit down and deliberately attempt to cement a union by the sacrifice of the birthright of 600,000 of their fellow-creatures, and that of their posterity for ever? It was a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell. It cannot stand.

I am not ignorant of the arguments which are employed in defence of those who framed the constitution. It was, say they, a political necessity.—They had to unite in a common bond, States and communities with essentially different characteristics. It had to be elastic, or it would have burst; and hence the series of expediences and compromises by which it is distinguished. There were two types of society, radically distinct, to be reconciled and united. In one region, as regarded the governing class, a society formed after the old feudal, or even Roman, model. The business of production being given over to a servile and enslaved race, while their masters made politics their business, and war their ambition; exhibiting equal boldness and skill in the first, and an eager readiness to engage in the second. In another region, a society devoted to industrial, commercial, and trading pursuits, with an ambition that lay only in the direction of the sciences and the arts of peace. Great mutual concessions, therefore, say they, were required, or the band must have been sundered. It would have been better for America, for the cause of liberty, and for the world, if it had been severed, when the war was over, than that the previous federation should have become a union that could not in its nature be perpetual, founded upon a guilty compromise of the inalienable rights of man, and a violation of the immutable laws of God. The best apology for the revolutionary patriots who yielded to the demands of the South, and so flagrantly outraged at once their principles and their convictions, is, that they did not foresee the tremendous evils which their compromise would occasion. They dreamed that when the slave trade terminated, the era of emancipation would dawn. Such were the delusion of Wilberforce and Clarkson, and such was the hope and belief of Hancock, Adams and Gerry. But when they thought they were sowing the seeds of peace, unity, and freedom, they were sowing a deadly upas tree, whose blighting shade was to fall upon their children's children. Unwittingly they took the most effectual means to insure a future war of opinion, if not of blood, among their descendants, and to bring about a disintegration of those States which they blindly thought they had bound together in indissoluble amity.

Time would fail in the attempt to recount the aggressions of the slave power upon new territory, its encroachments upon the rights of the people of the free States, its monopoly of the places and emoluments of the Federal government, its nullification of the laws of Congress, its establishment of lynch law, and its thousand other manifestations of the spirit of despotism. I must refer, however, to the intention, recently made manifest both in words and deeds, of the Southern States to reopen and revive, with all its horrors and iniquities, the atrocious system of the foreign slave trade.

The picture presented to our contemplation in the present aspect of affairs in the South is gloomy and dispiriting, and we turn to the North for signs of encouragement and hope. In that direction we do not look in vain. We find there a spirit of antagonism to slavery, daily increasing in extent, intensity and power. The growth of this spirit has been gradual, and it is yet far from universal; but the anti-slavery leaven is at work, and cannot fail to spread till it has leavened the whole lump. When I look back to the state of things when I first landed in America, in 1834, and to the state of things in 1860, the contrast is indeed striking between now and then. Happy am I to know that those with whom I then associated, and who were the first to bear aloft the banner of immediate emancipation, are still in the front ranks of the 'irrepressible conflict,' at this moment so fiercely waging between the foes and friends of liberty; and that to their labors, with the labors of those who subsequently joined them, is owing the wide regeneration of public sentiment which is now witnessed in the free States. All honor to the matchless courage and heroic devotion of men like William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and Edmund Quincy; and of women like the Chapmans, Westons, Lucretia Mott, and Lydia Maria Child! It would require more time than I can now command, to sketch the progress of the anti-slavery movement in the United States, or to measure the results already accomplished by that movement. Its onward march has encountered at every stage the combined opposition of the Church, the State, and the mercantile interests of the country; but over all impediments it has fought its way to the convictions and the hearts of the people.—It has been sought to put down the leaders of this movement by the cries of recklessness, infidelity, and treason; but the people have recognised them as the champions of justice, equal human rights, and the religion of Him who gave a gospel of liberty to the world. The original pioneer in this great struggle, on whose head a price was set, and who, twenty-five years ago, was dragged by a halter through the streets of Boston, is now received with reverence, and greeted with applause, in every meeting of his fellow-citizens, while the Legislature of his native State is compelled to bow to the public opinion he has created. The infamous Fugitive Slave Law, which spread such terror through the free States, is now practically a dead letter, and is execrated and defied by those who were called upon to 'conquer their prejudices' and obey its inhuman provisions with 'alacrity.' Instead of assisting to capture fugitive slaves, the free States are now enacting laws to visit with condign punishment any man, even the highest functionary of the Federal Government, who shall dare to lay hands on a man on the pretence that he is the property of another. Abolitionists, instead of being, as once they were, left defenceless to the mercies of an infuriated mob, have now the protection of the municipal authorities, and in Philadelphia and New York meetings of sympathy, with the objects of the late Captain Brown, have been attended by bodies of the police, to prevent interruption and disorder. The newspaper press of the free States, once universally opposed to the agitation of the anti-slavery question, is now found assisting that agitation, while those papers which are most out-spoken and bold in their denunciations of the southern system, command the widest circulation among all classes of readers. But a few years ago, the political sentiment of the country was divided between two parties, and alike ready to do the bidding of the slaveholding oligarchs of the South. Now, the political party, numerically the strongest in the country, is the republican or free-soil organization. This party is the creation of the anti-slavery sentiment of the Free States, and has displaced the Whig, Democratic, and Know-Nothing parties that previously have alternately had predominant sway. It is the embodiment of political anti-slavery feeling. It must not be supposed, however, that the Republican party aims at the abolition of slavery by legislative action. Republicans are Unionists. They take the oath to observe and uphold the Constitution; and these objects are limited by the powers given to Congress by the constitution. They would, if true to their platform and professions, repeal the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850; they would abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia; they would prohibit the inter-state slave trade, and prevent the revival of the foreign slave trade; they would put a stop to the practice of taking free colored persons from northern vessels going into southern ports, of imprisoning them, and selling them to pay their gaol fees. They would punish these acts as infractions of the constitutional rights of citizenship: they would also refuse admission to any new Slave States into the Union, and would prevent the extension of slavery in the territories subject to the general Government. None of these measures touch slavery itself. Besides this political party, there is a non-political party, of which Mr. Garrison is the founder and the head. The adherents of this party cannot vote, for the reason that they cannot elect a man to an office, which he cannot assume until he has taken an oath to support the Constitution—which Constitution guarantees to the slaveholder his rights of property in human beings, and pledges the power of the Federal Government to the defence of those rights. By this party the Constitution is denounced as an unholy and iniquitous compact, which must be dissolved as the first effectual step towards the overthrow of slavery. Hence they are avowedly disunion, and inscribe upon their flag 'No union with slaveholders;' 'No compromise with slavery.' They do not obstruct political anti-slavery action, but they do not co-operate in it further than by the dissemination of their own high, uncompromising principles. In accordance with their settled views of what is right and necessary, they seek the separation of the free from the slave States. They acknowledge and obey a law higher than the Constitution, the law of God, and demand in the name of that higher law that the Constitution of the United States should be either brought into conformity to it, or forever annulled. They are for the most part non-resistants, and rely for success upon the influence of opinion and the ultimate omnipotence of truth. They are the fountain-head of those streams which have gone forth to renovate the public sentiment of the land. A passage in an American religious periodical expresses my idea of the position they occupy:—'We regard the American Anti-Slavery Society as Napoleon did the Old Guard. They are to the movement what the north star is to the heavenly constellations that revolve around it as the axis. There is not a single regiment in the anti-slavery host that does not keep its eye fixed on the Garrisonians. However else we may disagree on the *qui mode*, there is perfect agreement on this, that courage, perseverance, and unfaltering faithfulness to the slave are their characteristics.' With this party it has been my privilege for five-and-twenty years to co-operate, and, with ever-increasing admiration of their disinterestedness and fidelity, I still regard them as the only party in America who, with consistency, singleness of purpose, and in the true spirit of the Gospel of Christ, are carrying on the work of immediate emancipation. Mr. Thompson, at considerable length, dwelt upon the interest and duty of the people of this country to apply the influence of their literature, trade, dominion and religion to the abolition of slavery and the slave trade, and sat down amidst loud applause.

The CHAIRMAN, in concluding the meeting, read some startling incidents from a letter by Lydia Maria Child, in the *Liberator*, which produced a deep sensation on the audience. He then paid a high tribute of respect to the eloquence, zeal and devotion which Mr. Thompson had so long manifested in his labors to redeem his oppressed and enslaved fellow-creatures, and concluded by referring to a glorious gathering held in that hall in 1846, which was addressed by William Lloyd Garrison. After three cheers for Mr. Thompson, the meeting separated.

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

BOSTON, MARCH 9, 1860.

SPEECH OF HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

In a speech delivered in Rochester, N. Y., in 1858, Mr. Seward made the following memorable declaration, in reference to the anti-slavery struggle in this country:

'Shall I tell you what this collision means? They who think that it is accidental, unnecessary, the work of interested or fanatical agitators, and therefore ephemeral, mistake the case altogether. IT IS AN IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT BETWEEN OPPOSING AND ENDURING FORCES; AND IT MEANS THAT THE UNITED STATES MUST AND WILL, SOONER OR LATER, BECOME ENTIRELY A SLAVEHOLDING NATION, OR ENTIRELY A FREE-LABOR NATION.'

Ever since that time, for the utterance of this soundly philosophical and self-evidently truthful statement, Mr. Seward has been unceasingly assailed by the entire body of Southern slave-traffickers, and their Northern democratic minions, with as much assumed bitterness and ferocity as though he had enunciated the most atrocious sentiment that ever fell from the lips of the most profligate wretch! The fact is as ludicrous as it is true; and nothing more clearly reveals the wide-spread stultification of mind which slavery has produced, than that it has been deemed the master-stroke of political cunning to raise a universal hue-and-cry against Mr. Seward on this ground! As well accuse the apostle Paul of fulminating 'a brutal and bloody manifesto,' (to quote the idiotic language of the New York *Herald*,) when he asked, 'What concord hath Christ with Belial? or what fellowship hath light with darkness? or how can two walk together, except they be agreed?'

Since his Rochester speech, until last week, Mr. Seward has preserved an unbroken silence upon this subject, neither indicating a purpose to participate in the 'irrepressible conflict' by word or deed, nor evincing any restiveness under the malicious assaults of his unscrupulous opponents. He has explained nothing, retracted nothing, added nothing. Great anxiety, therefore, as well as an intense curiosity, has everywhere been felt to know how he would meet the issue at the present session,—especially in view of the approaching Presidential election, and of the strong probability that he will be the candidate of the Republican party. This curiosity has at last been gratified, and this anxiety removed. On the 29th ultimo, in his place in the Senate, Mr. Seward made an elaborate and carefully prepared speech with reference to the 'impending crisis'—a speech of which hundreds of thousands of copies have already been printed, to be multiplied to millions, and circulated wherever minds are to be reached or votes to be won. The most material portions of it we have placed upon our first page.

This speech greatly disappoints us; not on the score of rhetorical skill, or power of condensation, or clearness of statement, or historical accuracy, for it is a very creditable performance in these particulars; but because it evinces, throughout, the adroit, calculating, heartless politician, rather than the wise, courageous, far-seeing statesman. It has no pulsations of life, no throbbings of humanity; it is wholly destitute of moral feeling and purpose. Instead of re-asserting the doctrine of an 'irrepressible conflict' between Freedom and Slavery, it is a laborious attempt to show that there need be no collision,—certainly no unfriendly collision,—between these forces, and that there is no reason why they may not remain in juxtaposition without heat or jealousy, *ad infinitum!*

This, indeed, takes us by surprise. True, we have never regarded Mr. Seward as other than the incarnation of political circumspection—cold in blood, cautious in action, wholly indisposed to anything like 'ultraism' in any direction; but we have been led to believe that his love of political elevation was subordinate to his self-respect and firmness of character, and that, while not particularly inclined to make an advance movement, he could neither be intimidated by his enemies, nor flattered by his friends, nor bribed by the hope of preferment, to yield one inch of the ground on which he had rightly planted his feet. But the temptation which proved too powerful for Mr. Webster, is seducing Mr. Seward to take the same downward course; and his recent speech, when closely analyzed, will be seen to be but little, if any better than Mr. Webster's seventh of March speech, 1850. Its effect will be highly detrimental to the moral sentiment of the North on the subject of slavery; whereas, it was in the power of Mr. Seward, by a vigorous and lofty enforcement of the great doctrine embodied in his Rochester speech, to have kindled that sentiment to an electric flame, which would have swept through all the non-slaveholding States with irresistible power. He has gone backward, and gone down, and he will drag many along with him; and self-recovery, under such circumstances, is scarcely ever possible. No marvel, therefore, that the Boston *Courier* (which, till now, has been particularly hostile to Mr. Seward) declares—'Moderate men will rejoice in the general tone of this speech; in its dispassionate expressions, and calm, decorous, and often even lofty style of thought. . . His views . . . exhibit no fanatical spirit. Let this example be followed, and the danger of the Republic will speedily pass away'! What that complimentary language means from such a rancorous pro-slavery sheet as the *Courier*, needs no elucidation.

What a thrilling effect would have been produced upon the whole country, if Mr. Seward had commenced his recent effort as follows:—'In a speech which I delivered at Rochester on the question now, as then, agitating the Republic, I declared that there was an irrepressible conflict between free institutions and slave institutions, and I am here to repeat the declaration'! Instead of this, mark how different his exordium:—'In coming forward among the political astrologers, it shall be *an error of judgment*, and not of disposition, if my interpretation of *the feverish dreams* which are disturbing the country shall tend to foment, *rather than to allay*, the national excitement'! Here is 'the step from the sublime to the ridiculous'—'roaring like a sucking-dove,' and not like a lion! What! is not the conflict between Freedom and Slavery real, inevitable, exterminating—but made up only of 'feverish dreams'! Again:

'It will be an everflowing source of shame, as well as of sorrow, if we, thirty millions—Europeans by extraction, American by birth or discipline, and Christians in faith, and meaning to be such in practice—cannot so combine prudence with humanity, in our conduct concerning the one disturbing subject of slavery, as not only to preserve our unequalled institutions of freedom, but also to enjoy their benefits with contentment and harmony.'

A very plain denial of the doctrine of 'the irrepressible conflict,' as a necessity! 'Thirty millions—Christians in faith, and *meaning to be such in practice*'! What sort of a Christianity does the South exemplify or aim at but a slave-breeding, slave-trading, and slavery-eternizing Christianity?

'Labor, either of freemen or *slaves*,' says Mr. Seward, 'is the cardinal necessity of society.' There is no such necessity nor alternative. Slave labor is criminal, coerced, unrequited, degrading, unnatural labor, and no plea of 'necessity' for it is to be admitted for one moment.

Mr. Seward gives us a new coinage of words. He wishes to be soft and fair-spoken to the slave-driving South; and so he designates the slave States as 'capital States,' and the free States as 'labor States'! Quite as ingenious as slaveholders calling slavery 'the peculiar institution'!

Speaking of the formation of the Constitution of the United States, he admits that, as touching the slave system, 'THE FATHERS COMPROMISED AT LAST. Three-fifths of the slaves were to be represented and taxed as persons. What should be done if the slave should escape into a [free] labor State? THEY COMPROMISED AGAIN'—and decided that he might be pursued and captured. Moreover, 'slaves might be imported [from Africa, as they were for twenty years] into the States.' And the result of these compromises has been an increase of the slave population eight fold—the subversion of all the constitutional rights of the people of the North—the unbroken rule of a slave oligarchy over the whole land, even unto this day!

John Quincy Adams has stated this in yet more emphatic language. He says:—

'It cannot be denied—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves. The first was the immunity for twenty years of preserving the African slave trade; the second was the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God delivered from Sinai; and thirdly, the exaction fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for slaves—for articles of merchandise, under the name of persons. . . . The freemen of the North, *reduced to the alternative of departing from the vital principle of their liberty, or of forfeiting the Union itself*, averted their faces, and with trembling hand subscribed the bond.

In the articles of confederation, there was no guarantee for the property of the slaveholder—no double representation of him in the Federal councils—no power of taxation—no stipulation for the recovery of fugitive slaves. But when the powers of *government* came to be delegated to the Union, the South—that is, South Carolina and Georgia—refused their subscription to the parchment, till it should be saturated with the infection of slavery, which no fumigation could purify, no quarantine could extinguish. The freemen of the North gave way, and the deadly venom of slavery was infused into the Constitution of freedom.

The bargain between Freedom and Slavery, contained in the Constitution of the United States, is MORALLY AND POLITICALLY VICIOUS, inconsistent with the principles on which alone our revolution can be justified, cruel and oppressive by riveting the chains of slavery, *by pledging the faith of freedom to maintain and perpetuate the tyranny of the master*, and grossly unequal and impolitic, by admitting that slaves are at once *enemies to be kept in subjection, property to be secured and returned to their owners, and persons not to be represented themselves, but for whom their masters are privileged with nearly a double share of representation.* The consequence has been, that this slave representation has governed the Union. Benjamin's portion above his brethren has ravined as a wolf. In the morning he has devoured the prey, and in the evening has divided the spoil.'

From this view of the Constitution, the nation has never once dissented since its formation—no part of the nation has ever dissented—but it has been thus construed and carried out literally, universally, inexorably, unchangeably, up to this hour; therefore it is that we have branded it as 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH' which must be annulled, and 'AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL' which cannot stand; and therefore it is that we inscribe upon our banner, 'NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!'

It is remarkable what gingerly phrases (not less deceptive than gingerly) Mr. Seward resorts to, throughout his speech, to hide his real meaning. For example—he says the Missouri debate 'disclosed that it is easy to combine the capital [meaning the slave] States in defence of even *external interests*, [meaning the extension and perpetuity of their horrible slave system]—while it is hard to unite the labor [meaning the free] States in a *common policy* [meaning the preservation of liberty and non-extension of slavery]—that the labor States have a natural loyalty to the Union, while the capital States have *a natural facility* [meaning a factious and treasonable method] for alarming that loyalty by threatening disunion.' Only 'a natural facility'—that is all! What jesuitical facility is this on the part of Mr. Seward!

Look, again, at Mr. Seward's language:—'Clay and Webster, the *distinguished* citizens *whose unquestionable devotion to the Union was manifested by their acquiescence in the compromise of* 1850, had gone down already to *their honored graves*'! Dealing in compliments like these, of what avail is the complaint of Mr. S., that, 'over the face of the whole world, there is not to be found one representative of our country who is not an apologist of the extension of slavery'? Why is not this, also, an evidence of 'unquestionable devotion to the Union'?

Here is another extraordinary statement of Mr. Seward:—

'The world, prepossessed in our behalf by our early devotion to the rights of human nature, as no nation ever before engaged its respect and sympathies, asks, in wonder and amazement, what all this demoralization means? It has an excuse, better than the world can imagine, better than we are generally conscious of ourselves, *a virtuous excuse*(!) We have loved not freedom so much less, but the Union of our country so much more(!) We have been made to believe, from time to time, that, in a crisis, both of these precious institutions could not be saved together, and therefore we have, from time to time, surrendered the safeguards of freedom to propitiate *the loyalty of capital*, (!) and stay its hands from doing violence to the Union.'

'A virtuous excuse' for pursuing a course directly tending to utter national demoralization! What moral jargon! We have loved the Union more than liberty, and been willing to surrender the safegnards of freedom 'to propitiate the loyalty of capital,' [meaning a brutal, bloated, murderous slave oligarchy,] and this constitutes 'a virtuous excuse' on our part, which an astonished world is respectfully requested to take full cognizance of! With his recognition of the slaveholding compromises of the Constitution, what does Mr. Seward mean when he says that 'both of these institutions [Liberty and the Union] can be saved together'? By what political or moral legerdemain is this possible?

Speaking defensively for the Republican party, Mr. Seward says—'I know of only *one* policy which it has adopted or avowed—namely, the saving of the Territories of the United States, if possible, by constitutional and lawful means, from being the homes for slavery and polygamy.' When or where that party has made any distinctive issue with polygamy, more than the Democratic party, we do not know: the statement is obviously made for popular effect. 'Only *one* policy'—not the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, where it now exists by the consent and approval of Mr. Seward and his party; not the abolition of the revolting domestic slave trade; not the repeal, or even modification of the Fugitive Slave Law; not the prohibition of Slavery in any of the Territories—but only to save them, if possible, from its establishment upon their soil; so that if they determine not to incorporate it into their State organizations, their wishes shall be consulted—which is to leave no issue in Congress at all; for we see no intimation in this speech of any purpose or wish, by the Republican party, to resist the admission of any new slave State into the Union. And, indeed, how can that party make any such resistance, on conscientious grounds, as a matter of principle, seeing it gives its sanction and support to fifteen slave States already in the Union? In fact, that party has virtually yielded to the atrocious dogma of 'popular sovereignty,' as inculcated by Senator Douglas; being willing, like himself, that the people of every Territory should decide in favor of slavery, or against it, for themselves, and only asking that they may be allowed entire freedom of choice.

But our space is filled, and yet by far the most objectionable features of this speech—its disparagement of the colored race—its monstrous assertion that the slaves at the South are among the admirers of the Union—its exaltation of Carolina over England or any other foreign State—its treatment of John Brown and his freedom-seeking enterprise—its promise that the North will ever stand ready to assist the South to arrest and execute all such as may imitate Brown's example—&c. &c.—remain to be commented upon in detail in another number. Senator Seward, it is incomparably better to be true to the cause of liberty than to be President of the United States!

GEO. THOMPSON AGAIN IN THE FIELD.

NEWCASTLE, Bensham, (Eng.) Feb. 14, 1860.

MY DEAR FRIEND: Since I wrote you last, which letter I hope you have received, we have had the high privilege and gratification of meeting with and listening to the still eloquent voice of our dear friend George Thompson.

He came here to deliver some lectures on behalf of the Northern Political Union. After he had concluded this engagement, at the wish of some of his old anti-slavery friends, he remained a few days longer, and delivered two able, eloquent and thrilling lectures on the Anti-Slavery question, full reports of which you will see in the *Daily Express* and *Daily Chronicle*, which I have sent you.

I saw Mr. Thompson off on Saturday for York, where he lectures twice this week.

The audiences here were excellent, and deeply interested and impressed; the old strong feeling aroused; and I am persuaded, if these meetings are followed up, as they will be shortly by Frederick Douglass, the people here may be aroused to some action of a practical kind to aid you and your glorious and God-like mission.

Though somewhat enfeebled in frame and weakened in voice, you will be delighted to hear that Mr. Thompson is so far recovered as to be able to speak with great energy, and, at times, with great eloquence, for two hours, on this subject, which he so fully comprehends, and which seems interwoven through every fibre of his heart. As in olden times, it is delightful to hear him speak, and no one can listen to him without having his deep convictions of abhorrence against the accursed system of slavery strengthened and increased.

I only wish and pray that he may be able, along with yourself or Mr. Phillips, to go through the length and breadth of this country to arouse the slumbering philanthropy, and awaken the dead churches to a sense of their responsibility in connection with this terrible system of crime and oppression. I am sure an agitation like this would create such a state of public opinion through the country as would speak in one loud, indignant voice to the churches in America, warning them and exhorting them to cease having intercourse and fellowship with all who have the remotest connection with the unholy system, the sum of all villanies; and, severed from the shadow and sanction of the Church, this gigantic evil would hide its head in shame, and be speedily driven from the earth.

May we entertain the hope of seeing such a mission as this accomplished?

Yours, no doubt, is the great battle-field, and none of your leaders can be well spared; still, when we find the *Times* and other journals committed to pro-slavery principles, it is evident that work must be done here also.

The great danger into which the people of this country are liable to fall is, that, when their feelings are aroused in behalf of the slave, these feelings should end in *mere* expressions of sympathy—without any active effort on their behalf. Having liberated our own slaves, we boast that we have done our duty; and as the suffering we commiserate is so far removed from us, we endeavor to persuade ourselves that we are relieved from labor and responsibility.

This, then, is the great delusion which must be removed from the minds of the people here. They must be made to feel their responsibility—first, because we are all the children of one Father, and one brotherhood—possessed of like natures, and like aspirations. Whether, therefore, the victim of oppression lies in our own house, our own country, or any other country, he has a right to, and demands our aid and sympathy as *men* and as *Christians*. Has not God made of one blood all nations that dwell upon the earth? Are we not all brethren?

'Skins *may* differ, but affection
Dwells in white and black the same.'

Again, we are implicated in the sin of slavery in America from having left her six hundred thousand slaves at the time of the Revolution; our churches have had constant fellowship with slave-owners, and participated in their guilt by taking their blood-stained money. Then we help to sustain the system by buying and using the products of slave labor. Then, again, we have writers boldly apologizing for the horrid system; and, in a thousand ways, we seem identified with it.

Our duty, therefore, is, by our money, our pens, our tongues, our press, our prayers, our sympathy, to help you and your fellow-laborers to crush and exterminate the accursed system—and never cease our exertions while one human being clanks his chains, or is having his life lashed out of him in the rice swamps of Carolina.

In this great human work, the world wants for laborers *men*—

Large-hearted, noble-minded men—
Men who will join its chorus, and prolong
The psalm of labor and the psalm of love;
Men who will blot the era of oppression out,
And lead a universal freedom in.

May your hands be strengthened by a large accession of such laborers, and your life be spared to see the fruit of your toil, is the earnest desire of

Your friend, JOHN MAWSON.

VOICE FROM PRISON.

MR. EDITOR—The following extracts from a letter recently written by DANIEL WORTH, a venerable and peaceable clergyman, now in jail in North Carolina, his native State, where he is awaiting his trial for selling Helper's book, and uttering anti-slavery sentiments, will interest most deeply the most, if not all of your readers:—

GREENSBORO' PRISON, (N. C.,) Feb. 16, 1860.

TO REV. WM. C. WHITCOMB:

VERY DEAR BROTHER—Your kind letter of condolence and Christian sympathy has been received; and though a stranger by face, yet your line excited gratitude and thankfulness of soul. So true it is, we must look to those whose hearts 'God has touched,' for those gushing sympathies characteristic of their great Master. Now, my dear brother, next to the Redeemer's love and mercy, I value the prayers, the counsels, the love, yea, the tears, the strong cries and intercessions in my behalf of the members of Christ's body, the 'household of faith.' And I am greatly comforted under the assurance that these are not withheld in this hour of trial.

Not only yourself, and those to whom you preach, but many ten thousands are at this moment lifting hearts and hands to God in my behalf. I have not been without hours of darkness and temptation since here, but have been favored to exercise 'a conscience void of offence towards God and man.' Sometimes my soul feels a loving and peaceful assurance from the hand divine, under the influence of which I am enabled to praise him, even amidst the fires of persecution and tribulation. I want that perfect love which casteth out all fear;

'Such as in the martyrs glowed,
Dying champions of their God.'

We may live, in some sort, with but litte grace, in fair sunshiny weather, and amid the world's smile; but, ah! when comes the dark and cloudy day, when friends desert and foes unite, and the black waves of disappointment rush over the poor soul, where is a refuge then? Hark! I hear the voice of love and mercy; and many such like may be found in the Sacred Oracles: 'Oh thou afflicted, tost with tempest, and not comforted, fear thou not, for I am with thee; yea, I will help thee; yea, I will uphold thee with the right hand of my righteousness.' * * *

You bid me 'be courageous, hopeful, and faithful, even unto death.' My soul says, Amen, amen! That is just what I want and need. I am an old man, and have lived long enough to test the utter insufficiency of all earthly things. Your advice is good, and I want the grace to follow it. * * * Now, dear brother, I must say, Farewell! and should we come to make no nearer acquaintance on earth, may we together reach that sun-bright clime where 'we shall know even as we are known.'

Your brother in Christ in bonds,
DANIEL WORTH.

The foregoing letter, from a man of true and solid *worth*, of fine literary culture and deep-toned piety, for years a Judge in one of the Southern States, and whose grey hairs ought to have saved him from imprisonment, but who is now less comfortably situated that was John Brown in a Virginia jail, his own wife not being allowed to visit him, reminds us of *Daniel* thrust into the lion's den for conforming to the Higher Law, and of Paul and Silas praising God at midnight in a dungeon at Phillippi, where they were cruelly incarcerated because they chose to 'obey God rather than man.' Let us ever 'remember those in bonds as bound with them, and those who suffer in adversity, as being ourselves in the body'; nor fail to sympathize with this noble-hearted sufferer, doomed, perchance, to wear the crown of martyrdom.

W. C. W.

PARKER PILLSBURY IN EARLVILLE.

DEAR SIR—An article appeared in your paper of Dec. 31st, signed A. J. GROVER, in which many of our citizens are grosely misrepresented.

Concerning the portrait of Mr. Pillsbury, we have somewhat to say. He evidently belongs to a class of men, quite numerous both North and South, who manifest a disposition to trample on the Constitution of the United States, and denounce everybody as unrighteous and unholy who differs in opinion from themselves. We suppose that Mr. P's stay, in this village, was a precious season to those styled in the article referred to as 'Me and my family.' Excepting, however, 'Me and my family,' and perhaps two or three others, our citizens regarded Mr. P's visit as they would a visit from the distinguished Benedict Arnold or Aaron Burr, who once visited certain Western villages for the same purpose Mr. P. evidently had in view when he came here.

Mr. G. says, 'His thoughts are quite as interesting to himself as to his audience.' This we grant. Offices, involving important duties, are flattering to human nature; and if Mr. P. only imagines himself occupying the high position of censor, demolishing this political party and excommunicating that church, we suppose he enjoys as much satisfaction as though his office were real, instead of imaginary.

One glorious sentence of Mr. P's seems to have been overlooked by the author of the article under consideration. As it is too good to be lost, we desire it to have a place in your paper. Mr. P. said, (and you know candor is one of his characteristics,) that he was once a minister of the gospel, and that he now occupied a position morally so high that a descent back into the ministry would be like the descent of the fallen angels. Indeed, those of us who enjoyed 'this rare opportunity,' and listened to his burning words and stirring eloquence, while he anathematized the Church universal, and denounced all but Abolitionists as unchristian renegades, almost realized that we witnessed Michael expelling the fallen angels!

But this was not the climax of Mr. P's eloquence. He saw before him the idolatrous Jews and superstitious Pagans, and more than realized that he was Paul or Jesus Christ. He was, apparently, astonished at our stupidity, in not recognizing him as such.

We claim, sir, to be friends of humanity, and are willing to do all we can, reasonably, to elevate the same; but we are unwilling to be denounced as hypocrites and renegades, simply because we differ, in opinion from Mr. P. or any other man, in regard to the means to be employed in accomplishing that object.

But, 'all good and great men, from Jesus to John Brown, have been misunderstood.'

We will not stop to consider whether the Virginians understood John Brown, or not; one thing we suppose they did understand, viz., those seventeen hundred pikes. But, says Mr. P., 'They were not to be used, except in case of resistance.' So says the house-breaker of his knives and pistols.

What a pity it was that those patriots, Paulding & Co. and George Washington, did not understand Major Andre! He occupied a plane so far above them, that they could not comprehend the angelic nature of his mission; and, consequently, the innocent official was hung, simply because he was misunderstood.

'I have never listened to three abler or more effective Anti-Slavery lectures.'

This, Mr. Editor, is a matter of opinion and taste. The carion crow feasts on the dead carcass, while thero birds flee from the stench.

Mr. P., in abusing the motives of Christians in professing religion, remarked that the Hon. Henry Clay made a profession of religion about the time he became a candidate for the Presidency, in order to avail himself of the popularity arising from such profession; and when told, at the close of his meeting, that he had misrepresented Mr. Clay, who was not baptised until two or three years after his last race for the Presidency, he persisted in his declaration, saying that he had clipped the fact from a newspaper at the time, and knew that he was right. From the Rev. Mr. Berkley, who received Mr. Clay into the church, we have received the following:—'The Hon. H. Clay was baptized on the 22nd of June, 1847.'

Mr. P. seemed to have two objects in view—1st, to ridicule Christianity; 2nd, to cast a reflection on the memory of a good man. We mention the fact here, so that he need not tell the same falsehood again.

As to Mr. G.'s minutes, we note falsehood 1st. 'The school-master said the expression, "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell," he was confident, had a vulgar origin.'

Falsehood 2nd. 'It was admitted that Mr. P. had said nothing about Washington, except that he had signed the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793.'

The fact is, Mr. P. characterized the Fugitive Slave Law as abominable, and Mr. Webster its reputed father, and all who

NO TRUCE WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

OHIO, Feb. 4, 1860.

DEAR GARRISON:—During the last few weeks, I have lectured many times in Ohio. The presence and burial of the body of young Coppock among the people here, have made a deep and lasting impression. The one question asked and discussed in all families, social parties, schools, shops and stores, is, 'Is Edwin Coppock to be condemned or approved in his efforts, in connexion with Brown and his associates at Harper's Ferry, to deliver the spoiled out of the hands of the spoiler, and to make Virginia a free State?' His motives and objects are impeached only by a few. Even Democrats approve them, many of them, and Republicans almost unanimously approve the object and motive; and those who hold to the use of deadly weapons, generally approve the *means*. In all my lectures, three propositions have been discussed:—

1. Individual slaveholders, as such, have no rights that any man is bound to respect.

2. Slaveholding States, as such, have no rights that other States are bound to respect.

3. Slaves, as such, owe no obedience, no service, no duties, to their enslavers, nor to any being, or combination of beings, in the universe.

On the decision in regard to these propositions, hang all the law and gospel, both of Slavery and Anti-Slavery. If they are true, slaveholders, as such, are to be regarded as out of the pale of protection of laws, human and divine, and to be treated exactly as pirates and midnight assassins are treated; and slaveholding States, as such, are to be regarded and treated by individuals and States, exactly as bands of marauders and murderers are treated; as self-incorporated, self-organized hordes of highway robbers or pirates on the high seas are to be treated. If true, it is the most sacred right and duty of the people and States of the North to enter the territory of Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, or of any slave States, and endeavor, by all such means as they shall deem right and expedient, to release the enslaved, and to compel the enslavers, or individuals and States, to cease their piratical depredations against humanity. Scarce an individual, of all that have attended these lectures and discussions, who has not been satisfied of the truth of the premises and conclusions—whether Republican or Democrat.

Our meetings, some of them, have been attended by Democratic mobs, that have been on hand to save the Union, being their only arguments—no other being of any avail to save this kidnapping, slave-hunting, slave-trading confederacy, this huge corporate kidnapper and bandit; for the American Union is that, and nothing else. But thus far, no one has been injured, no meeting broken up. The Democrats, in some instances, have brought *Irish* Catholics, from a distance, to do their work of violence and blood. But in many instances, those who have acted with that party have behaved nobly, and bid defiance to their fellow Democrats, who have come armed for the defence of slavery. It is hoped and expected that many such will turn their backs on that kidnapping party, the next opportunity. A meeting is now pending, in which dragging out, tar and feathers, scourgings and lynching, are threatened. But it is marvellous what a change is going on in people's minds, respecting the rights of slaveholders and the duties of slaves.

The one great, original mistake of this nation, and of the people and States of the North, was the admission that slaveholders, or individuals and States, might have rights, and that slaves, as such, might owe service or duties. It was a fatal error, the 'Pandora's Box,' from which have come all the shame, disgrace and troubles of the nation. Were the people of Massachusetts the slaves, would Henry Wilson and his party talk of the rights of *enslavers*, or the duties of the *enslaved*? Never. The slave States are mere bands of AMERICAN corsairs; and it is the right and duty of the people and States of the North to break up those organised bands of pirates, as did Eaton and Decatur those bands of *African* corsairs, called the Barbary States—political parties, constitutions, compacts, compromises and unions to the contrary notwithstanding.

What an insult to reason and an outrage upon humanity, to turn a man into a chattel, and then talk to him of his duties as a man! Can any act be more satanic? Herd men and women with beasts, and turn them into articles of merchandise; love, cherish, honor and respect them *only* as chattels; speak to and of them, regard, value, claim, hold, and use them as chattels personal, to all intents, constructions and purposes whatever, and then mock, insult and outrage them, by talking to them of their duties to their enslavers, as rational, moral, responsible, *human* beings! Deep and settled have been my disgust and loathing of a religion and government, of priests and politicians, of all books and constitutions, of all churches and States, that accord to slaveholders, or individuals or States, any rights, even the right to exist, one hour, as such, anywhere in God's universe; or enjoin on slaves, as such, obedience, service, or any duties. If the Bible, the Constitution, the Union, or any being or thing, in heaven or earth, enjoins upon *slaves*, as such, obedience to their masters, I count it deserving of the scorn and contempt of all mankind.

NO RIGHTS—NO DUTIES! Allow no rights to slaveholders, nor to slaveholding States; enjoin no duties upon slaves! Rights are the only basis of duties. We can owe no duties to those who concede to us no rights. Man, as a chattel, can owe no duties; man, as a slaveholder, can have no rights; and no political compacts can give to a slave-breeder or slave-trader a right which we are bound to respect. When the slaves shall bid defiance to their enslavers, as they will, and release themselves from the condition and liabilities of chattels, and assert and maintain their rights as men and women, the Southern kidnappers may have cause to remember that Dred Scott decision, which asserts 'that colored people and slaves have no rights that the whites are bound to respect.' When they find that slaves and colored people are, by that decision, released from all obligations of mercy and compassion, they may get more than they bargained for. A slave, as such, owes no more duties to his master, than does the magazine of powder to those who fire it; a slaveholder, as such, has no more rights than the wolf or hyena, as he prowls about the habitation of men seeking for prey. Such sentiments find a response in every heart that 'feels for those in bonds as bound with them.'

I feel no desire to say one word to vindicate my title as a sincere, hearty and consistent believer in, and advocate of, the absolute sanctity of human life, when I say, resistance, insurrection, rebellion and treason against slaveholders are significant and holy words to me. Neither of these words necessarily implies the shedding of blood, the taking of life, or use of deadly weapons. I have lived for thirty years, and I shall live to all eternity, but to incite in every human soul, in or out of the body, a determined, indignant, fiery, blazing, holy, defiant spirit of insurrection, rebellion, resistance and treason against all institutions and beings that turn human beings into chattels, and secure to slaveholders rights, and enjoin duties upon slaves. I shall, also, urge all to embody that defiant, indignant and holy spirit of resistance to wrong and outrage, to rape and rapine, wherever and in whatever relations they deem it their right and duty to live. This I can do, and, by spirit, precept and example, respect human life and person as absolutely sacred. I would *incite* in slaves, and in all the people and States of the North, the same indignant, defiant, burning spirit of resistance, rebellion and insurrection against slaveholders and slaveholding States, which it is their right and duty to cultivate and cherish against pirates and organized bands of pirates; and I would have them manifest that spirit in all their outward life, just as they ought to do against incendiaries and assassins. The only way to save the man, is to destroy the drunkard; the only way to save the man, is to destroy the slaveholder. The only way to destroy the slave-breeder or slave-trader, is to resist him, as a slaveholder, unto death; to incite the world to insurrection against him, and to concentrate upon him the scorn and contempt of heathendom and Christendom. While thus I shall teach, by precept and example, I know I would rather die than be the cause of death to any man, woman or child. My hands, before my God, shall not be stained with blood. Yet, till death, I shall, in my inner and outer life, hold that slaveholders, as such, can have no rights; and that slaves, as such, can owe no duties; and shall seek to carry out this idea to its legitimate and just results.

Last week a *Christian* Anti-Slavery Convention, of two counties, was held in this vicinity to form a society auxiliary to the Ohio Christian Anti-Slavery Society. It was headed by two Methodist priests, MITCHEL and LYNCH. They met at 11 A. M. and adjourned at 12 1-2—during which time they performed *five* long prayers, sang *five* long hymns, and occupied about fifteen minutes discussing the question, Who should be allowed to become members? It was decided that no one could be admitted to membership unless he belonged to some regular church or denomination. Such prayers! Full of Holy Bibles, full of holy Sabbaths, full of holy ordinances, full of holy spirits, full of a *dead* Christ, and full of revivals, of Methodism and other sects; but barren of humanity and Good Samaritanism, as Sahara is of green meadows. In the afternoon they met at two o'clock, had several more prayers and hymns, and a debate over a resolution, that 'slaveholding, *for purposes of gain*, is a sin,' and about the innocence of the legal relation of master, forgetting that the legal relation of the slave is the same; that he is a chattel, no matter from what motive the enslaver holds him. Some disunionists were present, and would speak; and to avoid the discussion, the Convention was closed in the evening. It was simply a *farce*, got up by the priests to save the sects.

The Republican Legislature of Ohio had a drunken spree and dance with the Legislatures of Tennessee and Kentucky, last week, and a bill is before the Ohio Legislature to give $5,000 to pay the fiddler and for the wine and brandy. They have, also, a bill before them to make it a crime punishable with imprisonment for ten years, for any person in Ohio to invade a commonwealth of kidnappers to free slaves, and put a stop to kidnapping. The United States bloodhounds are after John Brown, Jr., to get him into the hands of those who hung his father. But his house, and the houses of his neighbors, are supplied with rifles and revolvers, and they are determined he shall not go, unless he wishes. Let the crisis come! May it soon be counted the greatest crime in the South for a man to be born and trained in a Free State!

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

REPLY TO EMMETT DENSMORE.

SIR—In answer to your inquiry, why I do not 'unite at once with the Radical Abolitionists, of whom Gerrit Smith and William Goodell are the acknowledged leaders,' I reply, simply because I do not regard that party as *practically* true to the anti-slavery cause. I wrote to Mr. Smith several years since, in reply to a letter from him upon the subject, that if the party would assume an attitude of uncompromising opposition to slavery, it should have the benefit of my humble advocacy. But their anti-slavery interpretation of the Constitution seems to me *radically* defective, in that it leaves its advocates still in political alliance with slaveholders, and makes them practically the abettors of the Slave Power. In this regard, I cannot see that the Radical Abolitionists differ materially from the Republicans. The difference in their interpretation of the Constitution is merely *theoretical*, as is apparent from the fact that Mr. Smith's *action* in Congress differed in no essential particular from that of the most anti-slavery of the Republican members. So far as the interests of freedom were concerned, Mr. Smith might as well have been in Congress under a Republican interpretation of that instrument, as under his own.

What our cause demands is such an interpretation of the Constitution as shall place an 'impassable gulf' between the friends and the foes of slavery, so far as co-operation in the administration of the government is concerned. If the Constitution, rightly interpreted, is anti-slavery, the parties which are now prostituting it to the support of slavery are traitors—traitors not only to the liberties of four millions of enslaved countrymen, but traitors also to the Constitution itself, which they have sworn to support. Can we legislate with traitors, and not make ourselves partakers of the treason?

All the power of government, as an administrative institution, is dependent on the purse. Withhold that, and not a single executive wheel of our political machinery could make another revolution. James Buchanan, without the purse of the nation, is no more than any other man. Hence, if his official course is destructive of liberty, on those who furnish him supplies from the national treasury, equally with himself, rests the responsibility of his misgovernment. My objection to co-operation with Mr. Smith and the Radical Abolitionists is, that they fraternize politically with the existing administration, and by voting it supplies, become partakers of its crimes.

I will avail myself of this opportunity to express the opinion that, had Mr. Smith, while a member of Congress, practically maintained a consistent anti-slavery interpretation of the Constitution—had he proclaimed the existing administration a conspiracy against the Constitution and liberties of the country, and on that account refused to recognize any of its action as legitimate constitutional legislation—had he entered his solemn protest against the appropriation of a single dollar from the national treasury, until the government should be employed for the protection of that equal liberty and impartial justice for which it was originally established—had he stood before the national legislature, as John Brown stood before the sovereignty of Virginia, the fearless, uncompromising defender of equal liberty for all, treating his fellow-members kindly, yet as traitors, as they are—had he, I say, done this, and thereby made his theory of the Constitution a living power, all eyes would have turned instinctively upon him as the Heaven-appointed leader of the anti-slavery host. He would have taken our cause upon his shoulders, and borne it aloft amid the gaze of startled, but admiring nations; and such would have been the light and grandeur of his moral power, that the minions of slavery would have cried out, in the despairing language of the demons of Judea, 'What have we to do with thee, thou Son of God? art thou come to torment us before the time?'

Never had any man a more magnificent theatre than that awarded to Mr. Smith by his constituents, when they placed him in the United States House of Representatives for the purpose of testing the practical value of his political opinions. But, partly from a constitutional lack of firmness, and partly from want of a clear insight into the requirements of his theory of the Constitution, his Congressional career was a bitter disappointment to all who had trusted to him as a political leader. Neither Southern slave-claimants, nor their Northern abettors, felt themselves rebuked by his presence among them; nor was his official influence an object of their dread. But Mr. Smith's chief fault was one, which, unfortunately for the cause of freedom, he shares in common with all of us who claim to lead the public mind on this great question. *Timidity* is the prime curse of our movement. We creep like infants, simply because we dare not trust ourselves to stand erect and walk. In action, we are afraid of the legitimate deductions of our theories, and hence the slave power is not afraid of us. *I* would give to our movement a bolder tone—would make it smell of *revolution*, if not of *blood*. When we proclaim the slave a man, I would encourage him in the judicious use of all those modes of defence which are proper and becoming in men; would teach resistance and insurrection. I would teach his *friends* to give him their individual aid and succor, while they are in the minority; and to give him an assurance of the protection of the Federal Government, whenever they shall become the majority.

S. S. FOSTER.

Worcester, March 4, 1860.

LIBEL SUITS COMMENCED.

Messrs. Sedgwick, Andrews and Kennedy, of Syracuse, have commenced suits in behalf of Gerrit Smith against Messrs. Watts Sherman, Royal Phelps, and S. L. M. Barlow of New York, laying damages at $50,000 in each case. These gentlemen, with twenty-eight others, are members of the 'New York Democratic Vigilant Association,' and their names were attached to a document of that association, which was extensively published last Autumn.

The son-in-law of Mr. Smith writes a letter to Mr. Watts Sherman, which we subjoin:

PETERBORO, February 13, 1860.

WATTS SHERMAN, Esq.—Sir: My father-in-law, Mr. Gerrit Smith, has at length so far waked up from the eclipse of his intellect, as to be able to read, and hear reading. He has just now seen, for the first time, the 'Manifesto of the New York Democratic Vigilant Association,' published last October, in which you connect his name with a certain 'Central Association' of bloody and horrible purposes.

As Mr. Smith belongs to no society, has always opposed secret societies, had never before heard of this 'Central Association,' and condemns all shedding of human blood, save by government, he necessarily feels himself to be deeply wronged by you and your associates. He holds you and them responsible for calling in effect upon the people, both of the North and South, to detest and abhor him.

Mr. Smith wishes to know, without any delay, whether you and your associates will persist in your libel, or make the unqualified and ample retraction which the case calls for. Yours, respectfully,

CHAS. D. MILLER.

P. S.—I do not, as yet, write to any of the Executive Committee, except yourself, Mr. Phelps, and Mr. Barlow.

2d P. S.—It occurs to Mr. Smith that it may have been the 'Provisional Government' adopted by the convention at Chatham, C. W., with which you intended to identify him. But Mr. Smith bids me say to you that this cannot relieve you, since never, until within a few weeks, has he heard of that 'government' or that convention. What the government was, he has yet to learn, as he has not heard or read a line of its provisions.

To the letter addressed to him, Mr. Phelps responded as follows:

NEW YORK, Feb. 18, 1860.

C. D. MILLER, Esq., Peterboro:—Sir: I have received your letter of the 13th inst., complaining, on behalf of your father-in law, of the use made of his name in a publication by the New York Vigilant Association, in October last: and although the publishing of my name to that document was an unwarrantable liberty, for I never signed it, or authorized any one to sign it for me, yet, as I did not contradict it at the time, I can hardly set up this plea now.

I have been disappointed in seeing Mr. Sherman to-day, but you shall hear from us early next week.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant.

ROYAL PHELPS.

To a similar letter, Mr. S. L. M. Barlow replies. We quote:

I have looked over carefully the 'Manifesto of the Democratic Vigilant Association' to which you refer, and so far as Gerrit Smith's name is mentioned in connection with the 'Central Association,' have no hesitation in saying that his statement that he is not a member of that body, renders it obvious that in this particular the writer of the pamphlet has fallen into an unintentional error. With regard to the letter, also, inserted in this pamphlet, dated Peterboro, Aug. 29, 1859, purporting to have been written by Mr. Smith, as you do not allude to it, I suppose that is correctly set forth. By comparing the general tone and sentiment with the construction of the 'Central Association,' I think you will see that the writer of that pamphlet might very naturally have fallen into the mistake (as you assure me that it is a mistake) of supposing that the writer of one approved of the objects of the other. This was doubtless the view of the writer of this pamphlet, in regard to which particular case care was taken to ensure accuracy in its statement of facts, and for these the writer of the pamphlet relied somewhat upon the current newspaper articles of the day. After the information now received from you, I am very sorry to learn that Mr. Smith's name was thus connected with the 'Central Association,' to which you say he did not belong, or that any injustice was done to him by this publication.

Mr. Phelps and Mr. Sherman have each perused this letter, and I am requested by those gentlemen to say that they concur in the same, and beg you will receive it, also, as their reply to the communication you addressed to each of them on the same subject. They also request me to say that it gives them great pleasure to correct the error into which the writer of this pamphlet has fallen in regard to Mr. Smith, as however much they may differ from the sentiments held by him, as expressed in the 'Jerry rescue' letter, they respect the boldness and personal integrity of Mr. Smith, and desire to do him full justice.

Mr. Smith does not regard this reply as satisfactory, and Mr. Miller writes a long letter to Mr. Barlow, from which we quote:

Mr. Smith desires me to say that his attention was called at the same time to all the references to himself in your 'manifesto.' That he complained of but one, was by no means that he acquiesced in the others. Compared with that one, the others are of no importance.

It is true, that Mr. Smith did, at the close of his long letter to Mr. Thomas, on the other subjects, dated 27th August, assert the probability of servile insurrections, and the possibility of their success, as reasons why the people should, at the ballot-box, put an end to slavery. But, pray, what responsible connection is there between this and the 'Central Association,' or the sad occurrence at Harper's Ferry? The like thing he did in scores of meetings in his tour through this State in 1858; and never was he more full and faithful at this point than in his speech on the Nebraska bill.

As to Harper's Ferry, Mr. Smith is not aware that he had seen or heard the name of that village, or thought of itself or its name, for years immediately preceding the scene of violence there last October.

Mr. Smith readily admits that his letter to John Brown, in your 'manifesto,' does not exaggerate his love and admiration of the man, whom, during the many years of his intimate relations with him, both in business and friendship, he has accustomed to regard as unsurpassed for truthfulness, disinterestedness, and a noble and sublime spirit.

During the last four years of Capt. Brown's life, Mr. Smith sent many bank drafts to him, and to names which the Captain furnished. Whether his call was for fifty dollars, or for two hundred and fifty, was all the same. It was never refused. I scarcely need add that no one feels deeper sorrow than does Mr. Smith, that his precious, nay, idolized friend, was led into the mistake of shedding blood in his last attempt to help slaves get free. Indeed, it was that mistake which completed the prostration of the miserable health of Mr. Smith's body and brain. What little strength the most obstinate dyspepsia, following up typhoid fever and dropsy, had left him, was swept away by the horrible news from Virginia.

To return to your letter, I hardly need say that it is unsatisfactory to Mr. Smith. It evidently was not intended to be satisfactory to him.

Mr. Smith confesses that he has no sympathy with the Republican party. He will not greatly deplore the advantages you may gain over it. But he must protest against your gaining them at his expense. Mr. Smith is an Abolitionist, and not, as you would have it believed, a Republican. The odium of his principles belongs all to himself, and it is not right that the Republican party should suffer at all from it. But, although Mr. Smith is an Abolitionist, he has friends and relatives both at the North and South. Moreover, he thinks quite as highly of Southern as of Northern character. I add, that although he has purchased the freedom of many slaves, and not a few of them within two or three hours' drive of Harper's Ferry, and that although he is a very willing contributor to 'under-ground railroads,' he would nevertheless not have any slave seek his freedom at the expense of killing his master. He has always said that he would rather remain a slave for life than get his liberty by bloodshed.

☞ The Supreme Court of Virginia has recently had a case on trial, in which a Northern vessel was seized at Norfolk, and confiscated, for having, on a former occasion, left without being searched for fugitive slaves, and paying a fee of $5 for the search. The Court reserves its decision till May. Should this be unfavorable to the captain and owners, they will carry it up to the U. S. Supreme Court.

☞ The colored people of Canada are to hold a Convention on the 6th of March, at Sandwich, for the purpose of doing something to correct the calumnies of which they are the objects.

DECEASE OF A. H. ERNST.

We were deeply saddened, a few weeks since, by the painful intelligence that our highly esteemed friend and brother, Andrew H. Ernst, of Cincinnati, was languishing on his death-bed. Till then, we had heard nothing from him for a considerable time, and knew not but all was well with him. A few days more elapsed, and a brief letter from his desolate and almost inconsolable wife announced his decease. It took place on the 13th ult. What a loss to *her*, to his children, to his friends, to all the circles private and public which were privileged with his society! But God forbid that amid their bitter tears and overwhelming grief, widow, orphans and friends should doubt that their loss is his gain. They cannot. They must, indeed, mourn in the profoundest sorrow; but a still small voice will continually reiterate the consoling whisper, 'HE IS NOT LOST, BUT GONE BEFORE'—gone before to his ever-blessed Spirit Home, where they shall, in due time, rejoin him with hosannahs of triumph over death and all earthly ills.

Nearly thirty years ago, Br. Ernst made himself known to us as a cordial sympathizer in our distinctive doctrine of *Restorationism*. He encouraged and sustained us as Editor of the *Independent Messenger*, and was ever afterwards a kind and steadfast friend. This relation was strengthened by his subsequent marriage with one of our most estimable and devoted Christian friends, Sarah H. Otis, of Boston, who is now his heart-crushed widow. By their choice we presided at their wedding, which took place in the Hollis Street Church, Sept. 14, 1841. Soon after the Hopedale Community was started, Br. Ernst sent the Association a liberal donation of fruit-trees from his nursery. Pleasant interchanges by letters and visits, too infrequent indeed, have preserved the ties of personal friendship. Our worthy brother could not embrace all our extreme doctrines of religious faith and practice; but wherein he dissented, always treated our convictions with kindness and respect. He was an honest, upright, noble-hearted man in all life's relations; whole-souled, enterprising, persevering and indomitable in all his laudable undertakings. His memory is deservedly precious, honored and blessed—not only within the weeping circle of his family, but in every associative sphere in which he moved.—*Practical Christian.*

FUNERAL OBSEQUIES TO ANDREW H. ERNST.

At the hall of the Horticultural Society, at the church and at Spring Grove, solemn rites were observed yesterday, in memory of this departed citizen and lover of nature.

The Horticultural Society. A large number of the fruit and flower-growers of this city and vicinity, members of the Horticultural Society, met at noon at their hall, Wm. Orange, President, in the chair, and E. J. Hooper, Secretary.

Dr. John A. Warder delivered an eloquent panegyric on his friend and associate, and the friend and associate of the sympathizing members, which was ordered to be published with the proceedings of the Society.

Mr. J. P. Foote, from a Special Committee, submitted appropriate resolutions. Remarks were made by several of the members in eulogy of the life and services of the deceased.

A procession was formed, and members, with a badge of cypress, repaired to the Unitarian Church, where was assembled a congregation composed of ladies and citizens of various creeds. A great number of pioneers were present. An excellent and impressive address was then made by Rev. Mr. Conway.

A large cavalcade attended the remains to Spring Grove, where, in due time, his name will be recorded on the monument designed to point out his resting place. The whole cemetery, however, is his monument, for his taste and skill was manifested in it from its purchase.—*Cincinnati paper.*

VICTOR HUGO'S ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF HAYTI. The New York *Post* has advices from Hayti to Feb. 15th. The John Brown excitement still rages throughout the island, and subscriptions have been started in behalf of the widow. The following is a letter from Victor Hugo to the people of Hayti:—

'HAUTEVILLE HOUSE, ISLE OF GUERNSEY, December 28, 1859.

Citizens of the Republic—I thank you for the eloquent terms in which you have addressed me. Your words reach my heart.

A white and a black Republic are sisters, the same as a white and a black man are brothers. There is only one humanity, because there is only one God.

The French Republic had negroes among the representatives of its people; and that is the one thing that made it, above all, glorious.

I have been sadly deceived in that fraternity of races, the Southern States of the American Union. In killing Brown, they have committed a crime which will take its place among the calamities of history. The rupture of the Union will fatally follow the assassination of Brown.

What an event! What a disaster!

I am afflicted at heart in thinking of this crime and this fault.

As to John Brown, he was an apostle and a hero. The gibbet has only increased his glory, and made him a martyr.

Black and white, all brothers, all equal, let us rally more and more around that principle of all principles—Liberty. Your friend,

VICTOR HUGO.

I love your Republic. Let your people know it.'

JOHN BROWN IN HAYTI.—The following letter from Cape Haytien, giving an account of a tribute to the memory of John Brown, has been received in this city:

'DEAR SIR:—The 23d of January was set apart as a day of humiliation and prayer, in memory of the greatest cosmopolite that has been in existence the last century—John Brown. Unborn generations will drop tears of sorrow for this lover of God and mankind. I could not get into the church for the great throng, but the English consul told me the oration was truly affecting. Tears were seen to drop from the eyes of many while the orator, with unwearied zeal, pointed out the honor, the virtue, the heroic man for justice and for the rights of mankind, according to the law of God and the Constitution of the United States. CHARLES IRVIN.'

Cape Haytien.

At the above dates, the flags on the vessels in the harbor were at half mast, and the bells mournfully tolled.

In Cape Haytien, Cayes, Jacmel and Gonaives, as well as Port au Prince, religious services in commemoration of John Brown have been held with all possible pomp and solemnity, and all over the Island subscriptions in behalf of the widow of John Brown have been started.

ANOTHER EDITOR 'SURPRISED.' Verily, the day of marvelous things has not yet gone by. It gives us much pleasure to record the fact, that the Cape Cod people know how to appreciate good things, and how to show their faith by their deeds. Brother Coombs, of the *Atlantic Messenger*, published in Hyannis, was politely 'invited out,' last week, and met a goodly circle of friends who had assembled to do him honor. The ladies—'God bless them!'—were at the bottom of it—just as they were in our case. The gentlemen responded, of course. Mr. Coombs says: 'The value of the presents altogether, consisting of a good variety of dry goods and groceries, could not have fallen short of $30, it is thought. The "purse" contained $50 in cash, which was still further augmented by subsequent contributions, which swell the amount to over $70. In this sum is included $17 which was raised among the friends of the *Messenger* in Boston,—among whom, we recognize the names of beloved and valued friends, which we shall withhold from the public, in deference to any feeling of modesty on their part, which might, perhaps, forbid such use being made of them. We shall treasure their memory, however, with gratitude.'—*Provincetown Banner.*

DR. DOY'S NARRATIVE.

Dr. Doy, one of the earliest settlers in Lawrence, Kansas, and among the bravest defenders of that Territory, who, with his son, was kidnapped by a band of Missouri ruffians, and incarcerated some weeks in Platte city jail, and subsequently in the jail at St. Joseph, from which he was adroitly liberated by a company of friends from Lawrence, after having experienced much suffering, has just published a pamphlet, entitled—'*The Narrative of John Doy, of Kansas—a plain, unvarnished tale*'—making 132 pages, and sold at 25 cents.

This is a pamphlet to be universally read and pondered—calculated as it is to deepen the popular abhorrence of slavery, and its natural product, border ruffianism, and also to excite the deepest sympathy for Dr. Doy and those in Kansas who have experienced the severest losses and sufferings for their fidelity to the cause of freedom and humanity.

Dr. Doy is now in this vicinity, where he will remain a few days. His pamphlet is for sale at Bela Marsh's, 14 Bromfield street, and at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill. Give it a wide circulation!

THE 16th OF MARCH, 1860.

THE MARTYRDOM OF STEVENS AND HAZLETT.

Let the day and the event be duly observed. The friends of freedom in Boston and vicinity will hold a public meeting in the evening, at the MEIONAON, at half-past 7 o'clock, for this purpose.

Dr. JOHN DOY and JOSEPH GARDNER of Kansas,—the former who was rescued from the Missouri ruffians by the latter and his brave associates—also, R. J. Hinton, of Kansas, and some of our best speakers, will be present.

☞ A meeting will be held for consultation and a free interchange of sentiment, at the same place, at 10 o'clock, A. M., to which all who desire the overthrow of slavery, by all suitable means, are cordially invited.

☞ We are unable to find any space, this week, for even a brief sketch of the proceedings at the Meionaon, on Monday evening last, in commemoration of the Boston massacre in 1770. Particulars next week.

☞ A highly encouraging letter from A. T. Foss, reporting the progress of the cause in Harwich, Barnstable county, is received; but its insertion must be postponed to next week.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

DONATIONS.

David N. Brown, Kingsboro', N. Y.,	$7 00
Mrs. Elizabeth S. Preston, New Ipswich, N. H.,	5 00
Miss Beal, East Boston,	1 00
R. H. Ober, " for tract fund,	2 00
Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, being the proceeds of the Twenty-Sixth National Anti-Slavery Subscription-Anniversary,	5842 95

FRANCIS JACKSON, *Treasurer.*

CONVENTIONS IN WESTERN NEW YORK.

Anti-Slavery Conventions, to be addressed by PARKER PILLSBURY, AARON M. POWELL and SUSAN B. ANTHONY, will be held at Brockport, on Tuesday and Wednesday, March 13 and 14, and at Madina on Thursday and Friday, March 15 and 16, afternoons and evenings, at 2 and 7 1-2 o'clock.

☞ SALLIE HOLLEY, an Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:—

Athol depot,	Friday,	March 9.
South Gardner,	Sunday,	" 11.
Gardner Centre,	Tuesday,	" 13.
Hubbardston,	Thursday,	" 15.
Westminster,	Sunday,	" 18.

☞ ANDREW T. FOSS, an Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:—

Dennis,	Sunday,	March 11.
Hyannis,	Tuesday,	" 13.
Centreville,	Wednesday,	" 14.
Osterville,	Thursday,	" 15.

☞ E. H. HEYWOOD will speak on American Slavery and Slavehunting in Massachusetts, as follows:—

East Princeton,	Monday, eve'g,	March 12.
Princeton,,	Tuesday "	" 13.

☞ WM. LLOYD GARRISON will lecture in the Town Hall, at MILFORD, N. H., on Sunday next, March 21, forenoon and afternoon.

☞ REV. DR. FURNESS, of Philadelphia, will preach for Rev. Theodore Parker's Society, at the Music Hall, on Sunday forenoon next, March 11.

DR. CHEEVER'S GREAT WORK,

The Guilt of Slavery,

AND THE

CRIME OF SLAVEHOLDING,

DEMONSTRATED FROM THE HEBREW AND GREEK SCRIPTURES.

BY REV. GEO. B. CHEEVER, D. D.

THIS work embraces an examination of all the passages in the Bible on the subject of Slavery and Slaveholding as a sin against God and man. It contains a thorough analysis of the Mosaic laws of domestic service, as well as of tributary subjection; and of the national history in illustration of the laws. *The learned author has spent years of research upon this work, and it is without doubt the ablest effort of his life, and the most thorough demolition of all pro-slavery arguments, based upon the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.*

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MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S

HAIR RESTORER,

The only preparation that has a *EUROPEAN REPUTATION.*

Warranted not to contain deleterious substances.

This pleasant and valuable preparation has been used for many years by hundreds of the most distinguished and wealthy persons, who have previously tried all the nostrums of the day without success, some even injuring their hair and health. This is entirely different from all others.

'IS THERE ANY VIRTUE IN **Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorative?**'

We can answer this question by saying that we have already seen persons who have derived benefit from it.

'Persons personally known to us have come voluntarily, and told us of good results to either themselves or friends, who have used it before it became known in St. Louis.' *St. Louis Presbyterian.*

MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S HAIR RESTORATIVE has given universal satisfaction, wherever it has been used. It can be used with perfect safety, and its perfect freeness from all soiling, renders it a very desirable article for the toilet.' *Ch'n Witness and Ch. Advocate*, Boston, Mass.

'MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER is worthy of confidence.' *Philadelphia Christian Chronicle.*

'Incomparably the best preparation we have ever used.' *N. Y. Evangelist.*

All are compelled to acknowledge MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S as *the* Hair Restorer.' *N. Y. Independent.*

'MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER has taken its place at the head of all articles of the kind.' *Michigan Christian Herald.*

Dispel all doubts as to its efficacy.' *Knoxville Presbyterian Witness.*

'There never has been a prescription or remedy for improving the hair, published in the Advocate, which was so fully endorsed by men of unquestioned standing, as in that of MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S.' *Buffalo Christian Advocate*

Another objection to dyes is the unlife-like color and appearance they cause the hair to assume, and the only way to have grey hair assume its NATURAL YOUTHFUL COLOR, is to use that which will be effectual and yet not a dye—MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER will do this.' *U. S. Journal.*

In these times, when every cosmetic is warranted as the greatest discovery of the present day, it is refreshing to come across that which is what it PRETENDS to be. A really excellent article is MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER. As an assistant to nature, it is of great service; and a man by using it often prevents a serious and unnecessary loss of hair. Its properties are perfectly harmless, it being a chemical compound of ingredients calculated to facilitate the natural growth of hair.' *Saturday Evening Gazette*, Boston,

Those of our readers whose hair is turning grey or losing its color, and who are opposed to using a dye, will find in MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER a preparation that will speedily change the hair to its natural color, and at the same time render it soft. It is superior to any heretofore produced for restoring and beautifying the hair, POSSESSING NONE OF THE BURNING QUALITIES OF A DYE.' *Philadelphia Mercury.*

There is no Hair preparation, we believe, that has acquired more popularity than MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER. Why is this? Simply because it is a preparation of real merit, and has never failed, in a single instance, to produce the good effects ascribed to it on the part of its proprietor. Its sales are constant and most extensive, and we begin to think that it is denominated most appropriately the 'World's Hair Restorer.' *Newark Register.*

We have reason to be assured that 'MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER' is among the best articles of its kind ever discovered; indeed the wide circulation and immense sales it has achieved, fully demonstrate that its efficacy is generally appreciated.' *Rahway Register.*

MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER. The most successful remedy of the day. We know of instances where its good effects have been remarkable.' *Weekly Visitor*, Franklin N. Y.

'From individual cases that have come under our own observation, we are satisfied that 'MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER' performs all that it promises, and that instead (as is the case with other restoratives extensively used and highly recommended) of being a useless waste of time and money, it is just what it is represented to be, and will perform all its proprietor engages it to perform. We therefore most cordially commend it to the notice and use of those of our readers who need a remedial agent of this character.' *St. Louis Ledger.*

'MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER.—As we were travelling in Massachusetts a short time since, we met a lady whose appearance indicated that she had attained the age of sixty. So we inferred, and but for her beautiful hair, we should have added several years. After some conversation she spoke of her hair, informing us that two years ago, at least one half of it was grey, and that she had feared that before then the whole would have turned or fallen off. But our friend read the papers, and acquainted herself with the various remedies for decaying hair, and at length determined to obtain MRS. ALLEN'S RESTORER. She did so, and applied it according to directions, and before a year had passed, she assured us that she had as luxurious, even and beautiful head of hair, as when she was but sixteen years old. Her statement was confirmed by other members of the family, while we were informed that in the same neighborhood there were other instances where the same happy and signal effect had been produced by applying MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S World's Hair Restorer.' *Providence Daily Tribune.*

'Among the very few preparations that we deem deserving of mention, we are by no means inclined to omit 'MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR R

For the Liberator.

TO THE FRIENDS OF THE SLAVE.

Labor and wait. The ills which man has done,
God calls on man, his brother, to redress:
There is no load of wrongs beneath the sun,
But human love can make the burthen less.

Labor and wait. Proud of his freedom won,
With victory crowned, with peace and plenty blest,
America forgot her negro son:
By her white sons this great wrong be redrest!

Labor and wait. Though fast the monster grew,
Vile Slavery, and claimed its human prey,
Opposed to all that 's pure, and just, and true,
Its rapid growth forebodes a quick decay.

Labor and wait. Before the daylight beams,
More chill and dark the long, long night appears;
Though Slavery shroud thy country, yet there gleams
A ray of hope, to brighten future years.

Labor and wait. God works by human means;
Perhaps, though feeble, thine may be the hand
To tear the flimsy veil that Slavery screens,
And drive the demon from thy rescued land.

Labor and wait. God's kind, parental ear
Hears every cry from slave-polluted earth;
And, saddest sound of all, does He not hear
The infant slave's unconscious, piteous mirth?

Labor and wait. The deepest ocean caves
Hide not His children's bones from God's clear eye;
He saw them sink beneath the closing waves;
He sees the rusting fetters round them lie.

Labor and wait. The prophet's servant saw
Celestial armies round his master stand;
And will not prayers from God's true servants draw
A mightier, stronger aid from God's right hand?

And ye who labored once, now patient wait;
Man's prisons shut not from th' Almighty's sight;
Though cruel insults, poverty, your lot,
His presence turns a prison gloom to light.

Labor and wait in Faith, in Hope, in Love;
Like the great Master, patiently toil on;
Like him await a glorious rest above,
When the hard strife is o'er, the victory won.

Tenterden, (England.) JANE ASHBY.

From 'Punch.'

THE RIGHTS O' MAN.

(*A Southern Version of them, in black and white.*)

In the rights o' man I du believe, with Washington and Jefferson;
But from them ondying patriots a pint or two I deffers on;
In their, noble declaration they oughter set out fuller,
That black and white stands oppersite, in rights as well as color.

They'd no pesky abolitionists a hatchin' revolootions,
To upset our Southern chivalry's domestic institootions:
If they'd a' know'd such varmint as in Greeley's Tribune figgers,
They'd a' had two declarations—one for whites, and one for niggers.

To supply this 'ere omission is what I du propose tu,
And this 'ere's the sum and substance, pretty much, o' what I goes tu;
White rights is all whites likes to take; and as for blacks—(I'm sick o' them)—
Waal, I guess their rights is jest what's left when the whites has had their pick o' them.

Or, stoopin' to perticlars (though it's what I kinder scorn tu,)
I conclude that chains and cowhides both whites and blacks was born tu.
With this slight difference, that whites was for their active use meant,
Blacks, for suff'rin' on 'em passive, for white profit or amusement.

The corner-stone of all white rights—and there ain't no wheres a bigger—
Is the innate right of every white to wop his private nigger;
And all I doubts is whether the right is bounded to his private one.
And don't reach to niggers gin'rally, whene'er you can let drive at one.

In course I hold there's dooties that correspond to rights, sir,
(The first belongs to niggers, and the second all to whites, sir!)
So, if the white exerts his right to cowhide, and don't spare it,
The correlative black dooty is fur to grin and bear it.

The white man's right to freedom 's wide as universal natur;
But beyond the Mason-Dixon line the blacks ain't wuth a tatur;
In fact, I rayther calkilate, that this side of it, either,
If nat'ral justice had its way, 't aint wuth a tatur neither.

The white he has a heaven-born right to make the black his chattel,
And chattels can't be citizens, (see Puffendorf and Vattel:)
But in our magnanimity the exclusion we relaxes,
And gives blacks the rights o' citizens, as fur as payin' taxes.

This makes the critters sarcy, till from inch to ell extendin,
On the priv'lege of tax-*paying* they would hook that of tax-*spendin'*;
And the next thing 'll be asking place on the electoral rolls, sir,
Till at last I shouldn't wonder if they set up claims to souls, sir.

By way o' mild corrective to such doctrines underminin,
This declaration I submit for gin'ral nigger signin;
With gradoosted punishments for those who fail or falter—
To begin with tar and feathers, and to wind up with a halter:

'I, Blank—a nigger born and bred—hereby make declaration,
I havn't no rights to nothin—name, church, home, vote, nor nation;
But for the blessins of my slavish state I'm grateful to my master,
Who feeds and clothes and flogs me fust, and then pays for the plaster.

'Should I be so unlucky as fur to sink to freedom,
And be druv to cast my chains aside, however much I need 'em,
I declare I won't stay in this state, to cut that frightful figger,
That it stands to reason must be cut, by a mis'rable free nigger.

'For New England or the Canadas I straightway will absquatulate,
That on *one* free nigger more them States themselves they may congratulate;
So to pay for their free-negroism the abolition varmint,
Who backed up old Osawatomie, and said there warn't no harm in't.

'If cotched at liberty, myself ill-used I du consider,
If I ain't took up and sold right out unto the highest bidder:
And cheerfully I will go back to chains, cowhide and collar,
So help me Gin'ral Washington, and "The Almighty Dollar!"'

THE LIBERATOR.

MACMILLAN'S MAGAZINE.

The fourth number of this monthly Magazine, (February, 1860,) edited by David Masson, and published at Cambridge and London, now lies before us. It is a periodical of very high promise, having contributions, in the four numbers thus far issued, from Rev. F. D. Maurice, Alfred Tennyson, Miss Muloch, Rev. J. W. Blakesley, the author of 'Tom Brown's School Days,' W. E. Forster, Patrick Edward Dove, (the author of 'A Theory of Human Progression, and Natural Probability of a Reign of Justice,') Professor Huxley, and Franklin Lushington. The contents of this number fulfil the promise given by such names, being at once highly attractive and of substantial merit. They include the tenth and eleventh chapters of a new tale, 'Tom Brown at Oxford,' (which began with the first number of the Magazine, and which equals, in interest and excellence, the former well-known works by the same author,) two articles on Lord Macaulay, and one on 'Harper's Ferry and "Old Captain John Brown."' The last of these articles, written by W. E. Forster, gives a very just view of the character of John Brown, with a sketch, brief but accurate, of his enterprises in behalf of freedom in Kansas, in Missouri, and in Virginia. It is to be hoped that no one who sees so justly the momentous character of the conflict between freedom and slavery now going on in this country, will lend his valuable aid in calling the attention of the British public to its further developments; especially to the fact that, throughout the Southern States, the rights of Northern citizens are now sacrificed, with a more disregard of justice and humanity than ever before, to the assumed interests of the Slave Power. It needs to be known in England, not only that any Abolitionist, in any part of the South, is in danger of sudden and violent death, but that the least suspicion of anti-slavery sentiments, and in many instances even the bare knowledge of a man's Northern origin, will cause his letters to be opened, and his newspapers destroyed by the Southern post-master, his other property to be seized and searched, and himself to be summarily banished from the State, by popular violence, after proceeding to personal outrage; that, for no part of injustice and injury like this, is any redress to be obtained from the laws, either of a Southern State or of the United States; and, finally, that, according to the assertions of many Southern, and some Northern men, this state of things constitutes no violation of the United States Constitution, which was so arranged, with this very intent, by those slaveholders who were original parties to its adoption!!—C. K. W.

LETTER TO HON. HENRY WILSON.

HOLLEY, (N. Y.) Feb. 10, 1860.

HON. HENRY WILSON:

DEAR SIR—I have just read, in the *Liberator* of Jan. 13th, your letter, dated Natick, Mass., Dec. 27th, 1859, to Henry C. Wright. Of the differences between yourself and Mr. Wright, I have nothing to say. Of Mr. Wright's position, at that time, relative to the means to be employed for the overthrow of slavery, I must say that it struck me that Mr. Wright seems not always consistent; for I recollect, on a certain occasion, his taking Mr. Stephen S. Foster to do, on the forum, before a large assembly, for Mr. F's departure, as he alleged, from their hitherto professed principles of non-resistance.

But you will not deem it impertinent for so humble a citizen of the Republic, though not one of your immediate constituents, respectfully to suggest a few thoughts on what I think the neutralizing effect of the course pursued by most of the leading Republicans of the North, including Senator Wilson.

I. You say, and insist upon it, that you are not going to disturb slavery where it now exists, only to force it from new ground.

Now, the writer has practised farming for a long succession of years, has had some experience with the pest called Canada thistle, and I never thought 'of fencing in a patch to kill them. I think in that way they would root and sprout, spread and flourish all the better; they would shoot out under the fence, if they did not mount it; the seed would float on wind and water every way. Had I a farm, say of one hundred acres, and sixty of it covered with this noxious plant, about the proportion of slave and free soil in the United States, instead of fencing it in, on discovering the *dry rot* upon it, I should apply the torch, and burn it clean, plow the ground, cultivate thoroughly and skilfully, as much of the deteriorated land needs of such culture, and thus eradicate the worthless pest.

There was a time when to talk and act for the application of the Wilmot Proviso meant something. That time has past. The action of the Slave Power itself, through the Federal Government, the Executive, and the Supreme Court of the United States, has cleared the Republican platform of that plank, and the attempt to restore it should never be made. That space should be filled with one more appropriate and applicable to the times, i. e., advance to the removal of the cause of our national troubles, sectional feuds, and individual political strife. Besides, in the progress of human events, revolutions never go backwards. The action of the Administration and Court has made slavery national. Ought not freedom to be national? Which shall triumph? These neighbors are having a dreadful falling out—one or the other must quit.

II. Why is it that all the Southern Republicans are emancipationists, while the Northern wing stand aloof from that point? Herein, it seems to me, is a division in the house, and, consequently, a loss of strength. C. M. Clay, of Kentucky, avows himself an emancipationist, and claims to be a Republican. Wm. S. Bailey, editor of the *Free South*, Newport, which was mobbed October 28th, has sent out his appeal to Kentuckians for help to re-establish it, is bold and frank in the avowal of emancipation, and the new paper will be devoted to the organization of a new party in Kentucky on that basis. Fee, and his forty companions and victims of the slaveholders' bloody vengeance; D. Worth, imprisoned for his abolition principles in the Greenborough, N. C., jail, Helper, with his 'Impending Crisis,' which has been so magnificently advertised by Congress—all say, slavery must speedily die, peaceably or forcibly—the former, he hopes, through quiet political action, in the use of argument, the press, and ballot. All anti-slavery men South, high or low, are abolitionists. Indeed, it would be strange were it otherwise. What! anti-slavery men in a free State contending for the continuance of the system among them! It is preposterous! And last, though not least, Frank Blair, of Missouri, who, with these others, was reared in the midst of slavery, goes farther than the farthest, and whom among them all I esteem of the highest authority, because, in one particular, he speaks my own views. True, Mr. Helper has said that no part of the United States is too warm for white laborers, but, on the contrary, the coldest part of them is too cold for negroes, intimating thereby that the black race, left free to choose, would work further South. Mr. Blair has said that, and more. Perhaps Mr. Helper laid the foundation of his more capacious building. The substance is, that all the North, and even Central America, and Cuba, when acquired, ought, of right, to be consecrated to freedom and free labor; that there is no good reason, because the blacks can labor better South or in warmer climates, that they should be enslaved. Hence they must be disenthralled and made free men, and thus effectually suppress the slave trade in the western hemisphere. Mr. B. suggests an American colonial system similar to that of Great Britain.

Now, Sir, I think it difficult to bring the Southern Republicans to join us; so, if we desire unity, (and union is strength,) besides, I think they have the right of the case, and we must join them.

III. I very much admire the manner and spirit in which you met and repelled, on the floor of the Senate, some insinuations from Southern Senators that blood might be let there, thus intensifying the 'irrepressible conflict.'

But, Sir, it appears to me that there is a much more effective argument that might be employed than the suggestion of sanguinary collision, if we are allowed to appeal to the faculties of fear and interest of slaveowners. You say, in the letter mentioned, that you have journeyed, within not a long period of time, some fifty thousand miles, over much of the territory of seventeen States. Doubtless, then, you have travelled in some of the cotton-producing States, witnessed the details of cotton-growing, picking, ginning, pressing into bales, and carrying to market, and all done by slaves or slave labor—how that the picking commences in September, and closes the last of December, when the harvesting and marketing are principally finished. You have observed that, during all this time, or portion of the year, the whole crop is completely and necessarily in the hands of the slaves, and at their mercy.

You have seen thousands of acres of the delicate article, white as snow-balls, hanging to the bushes, being picked, and, after an interval of a month or so, gathering another crop from the same shrub, ripened for a second picking; then again a third, which closes the harvest for that year.

You have seen, perhaps, ten acres of cotton bales lying around Memphis, Natches, New Orleans, Augusta, Savannah, Mobile and other cities, at a time, exposed to fire and water, and cannot be made otherwise. Rain injures it but little; fire, when once in a bale, consumes it sure, and, when the air is dry, will run from bale to bale like powder.

You have seen, aside from the chief cotton marts, cotton in all its varied conditions, especially in bales around the press-house, on wagons going to the village market, carried to the city by mule teams, or loaded from the depot platforms into the railroad trains; and when there loaded, you have witnessed the great care taken to prevent sparks from the engine igniting the cotton in the bales; for when the inspector cuts carelessly into the bale, he leaves quite a mass of cotton exposed on the side of the bale. You have seen how the managers of trains, to prevent accidents of this kind, place three or four box cars next the engine, carrying the platform cars away rearward; still, with all this precaution, you have seen bales on fire from the engine sparks, exposing the whole load, unless immediately thrown off.

You have seen, or may contemplate from what you have seen, Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Arkansas, Western Tennessee, Northern Louisiana, and you might include Florida and Southern Texas, and imagine one vast magazine exposed everywhere, at all points, and in all conditions, to the incendiary's torch, and nothing could stay its devouring flash! Not like powder magazines, that could be secured under bars and bolts, but must, from the nature of the case, be exposed at all points. Half a million of bales of cotton which is grown annually by Alabama alone, cannot be tucked away in a corner.

You have inquired into, or looked on and observed, the conditions of the slave, and his relations. You have found that it is quite customary to hire slaves of their reputed owners to labor at all kinds of work, and that 'man-servants' command from $150 to $200 a year, including board, which consists chiefly of raw meal and bacon, without butter or vegetables, cooked by themselves—'maid-servants,' from $100 to $120. In some parts, however, you have learned that they feed their human cattle a good deal on sweet potatoes.

You have seen them with friction matches with which to light their pipes like white folks, kindle fires about house, &c. &c., which massa and missis can scarcely do, and you have wondered why these men and women were so stupid and helpless, or that the reason why they did not demand these sums of their own earnings, to jingle in their own pockets, was because the masters and mistresses were possessed of omnipotent power over them, and hold their cotton magazine as a kind of hostage, or a kind of battery to shield them from deadly assault, as in the case of Gen. Jackson in the defence of New Orleans, only in a different form, till their just rights were complied with; or, if the negroes could not employ this immense advantage, perhaps the John Browns ere not all dead, and that a few reckless desperadoes, scattered over these States, and armed with these otherwise harmless missiles, on a known signal, will attempt the explosion.

You have seen, too, that the slave-breeding States depend on the cotton-growing ones for a market for their stock-in-trade. But, when the cotton crop becomes precarious from slave labor, the *slave-breeders' occupation's gone*, and emancipation follows of course.

In a short sojourn in some of the cotton States, in cotton harvest, I asked a planter from Arkansas if he was not afraid that the negroes would take it into their heads to smoke them out, which they could do the first half-hour! He replied that they could do that, but could not combine so as to act in any degree of concert. I asked if I were not told then, that at the prospect of the election of Fremont, they expected that to be the day of their deliverance, and did combine ready to rise, weapons in hand, and assert their freedom; and slaveholders all over the South armed in view of such a crisis? And if they could combine, under such circumstances, it would be much easier to combine by plantation, sit down, fold hands, and demand wages under the panoply of a cotton battery.

Sir, you have read the life of Napoleon by Count Las Casas. It is there recorded, that when Moscow was fairly on fire, Napoleon exclaimed, 'It is the most sublime, yet the most terrific scene, the world ever saw!' 'So intense was the heat, that window glass, in a fire-proof building, was melted, a mile away.' What is that to a cotton crop on fire! Still, if slaveholders persist in the determination of growing cotton without paying for the labor, let slavery come to a sudden end in that way. What is the worth of cotton crop to cast into the scale against four million people, born upon the soil of this professed asylum of the oppressed, laboring in hopeles servitude to produce it?

I suppose it is not denied that the Russians were justified in the destruction of their own property in self-defence—to repel an invading foe; nor the Americans under Jackson in appropriating cotton bales for a similar purpose. Why, then, have not slaves a moral and just right to destroy property of their own production, in a strike for freedom, whose every right has been invaded and usurped?

Nor need incendiaries go from the North. The South is rearing a crop of its own, and already have they commenced their work. At Society Hill, Macon Co., Ala., a man named L. Stearns was caught tampering with a Mr. Richardson's negroes. He was driven off, and a party of citizens seized and flogged him. Two or three nights afterwards, Mr. Richardson had a lot of cotton set on fire.

About the same time, some $8000 or $10,000 worth, was consumed in or near North Carolina. Recently, a ship load was burned at a wharf in New York, supposed to have taken fire from friction matches being placed in the bales on packing, which ignited. Who packs cotton? Nobody but blacks.

Slaveholders and their sattelites are vehement supporters of the Bible, because it seems to favor slavery. Let them have this passage likewise to ponder:—

'And Moses stretched forth his rod toward heaven: and the Lord sent thunder and hail, and *the fire ran along upon the ground*. So there was hail, and fire mingled with the hail.'

This opened the eyes of King Pharaoh and his cabinet a little, and they promised, but broke their promise, and would not let the people go, until the last and crowning one of the ten plagues was sent upon the Egyptians for their persistence in the enslavement of the Hebrews; and when they found 'one dead in every house,' they let them go, and even hurried them off.

How many plagues it will take to soften the heart of the American Pharaoh, our Cotton King, and his counsellors, remains to be seen.

IV. And, finally, let us turn from the black slaves of the South, and contemplate, briefly, the condition of the white slaves, both North and South.

Slavery renders slaveholders brutal and bloody, and stimulates to violence and lust. It degrades the non-slaveholding whites to nearly the level of the blacks—all slave soil to a habitation of cruelty and crime—pollutes everything it touches—smites the soil with barrenness on which it treads. It converts all free soil in the Union into a vast slave-hunting ground, and appoints every freeman a slave-hunter.

In this Southern Bastile, there is no safety for any Northern citizen, unless he fall down and worship the beast and his rider. Fathers and mothers all over the Free States, in almost every neighborhood, have sent forth, under the inspiration of the 'self-evident truths' of inalienable rights, their sons and daughters to the South, as teachers, artisans, &c. Heretofore they have had to divest themselves of their independence and manhood, and shout for slavery, or quit. Now it has come to pass that no amount of servility and dirt-eating can ensure their safety there a moment. You are a Northerner. Be gone! or bonds, prisons, stripes, tar and feathers, one or all, await you. Nor are Southern citizens any better off, unless they, too, prostrate themselves, and worship the black dragon.

Still, 'slavery must be let alone where it now exists. The North have nothing to with it.' Better 'cleanse it, so as by fire'!

In conclusion, I would call your attention, and the attention of all leading Republicans, to a pledge or a plank in their platform adopted at Philadelphia, June, 1856. It is contained in the fourth resolution. After enumerating some of the rights guaranteed by the Constitution, it proceeds to specify the atrocities of the Slave Administration in Kansas, and closes thus:—

'The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, has been violated; they have been deprived of life, liberty and property, without due process of law. The freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged. Murders, robberies and arson have been instigated and encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished; and it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages, and their accomplices, to sure and condign punishment hereafter.'

How long is the country to wait for this 'hereafter'? Or was this a mere flourish of trumpets, for effect? Or is this pledged party to shirk the responsibility, because the theatre of these 'atrocious outrages' has been changed from Kansas to the Slave States?

The Republican party is now wielding the power of nearly all the Free States; yet the 'rights and immunities' of more or less of the citizens of these Free States are trampled under foot by mob violence and border-ruffianism; and why does not this already powerful party begin to redeem its pledges, and commence proceedings? For instance—if Virginia can prosecute the State of New York in a suit to compel her to recognize property in man, as in the Lemmon case, why does not New York with Virginia change works, and see if a citizen of New York, emigrating to Virginia, may not own mules, horses and hogs in peace, without violent ejectment, as in the case of Reuben Salisbury, who went from Sandy Creek, Oswego County, some six years since, to Virginia, a farmer, successfully establishing himself and family there, and now driven out of the State at great loss?

If it is said that this and the Lemmon case are not parallel ones—the latter lost his slaves through the action of civil law, and the former suffered by mob law—this is a poor reason why the mobocrats should escape 'sure and condign punishment,' or why an attempt should not be made in the Virginia courts to seek both redress and protection to citizens going from the North; and thus try the Old Dominion, and through her all the Slave States, to see whether mob law is part of their jurisprudence, and Judge Lynch chief justice in all the South.

Most respectfully, yours,

C. ROBINSON.

[☞ In the large and constantly accumulating mass of communications on our file, we find the following, which has been overlooked till now. Though received several weeks ago, it is just as timely and effective as when sent.]—*Ed. Lib.*

A. S. CONVENTION IN ADRIAN.

MR. GARRISON:

The Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Convention held at Adrian, (Michigan,) on Saturday and Sunday, the 5th and 6th of November, desired me, on his behalf, to forward to the *Liberator* for publication the accompanying series of Resolutions, which were adopted by that Convention.

In doing so, it seems proper that I should say a word about the character of that Convention, which was largely attended throughout its several sessions, and of the soul-living words of Parker Pillsbury and Giles B. Stebbins on that occasion. To you, who know the sterling merits of those speakers, little need be said.

Friend Stebbins was clear, logical, and at times truly eloquent, carrying the sympathies of the audience with him as he portrayed the woes and wrongs of slavery; while Parker Pillsbury spoke with a power and pathos deep and strong as were the mighty truths he uttered, portraying the terrible evils growing out of the slave system, and the guilt of all connected with it, and the righteous judgments of Heaven which were being inflicted on this nation in consequence of its participation therein. Most of his hearers seemed to feel that he was an inspired messenger, sent to warn the nation of its approaching ruin; an apostle to themselves of the sternest truth, and the faithful and unswerving advocate of the highest and best interests of humanity.

The speakers then adverted to the tragedy at Harper's Ferry, and the heroism of John Brown and his noble band of followers, as men whose deeds and words will stand embalmed in the world's memory along with those who have been its greatest benefactors.

But I will not detain you with any further description of the Convention; the resolutions will give you a better idea of the spirit of its sessions than any words of mine. Suffice it to say, that the Convention was all, and *more* than its friends had anticipated.

Yours, truly, JACOB WALTON.

Adrian, Nov. 10, 1859.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That in American slavery we have the sum total of all crimes and cruelties; a fearful development of the capacity of human nature to perpetuate and endure the perdition in Paradise Lost—wrongs so flagrant, so defiant, that all ordinary rapes, robberies, rapines, piracies and murders, such as are generally practised and punished among men, become in comparison almost virtues and graces fit for the kingdom of heaven.

Resolved, That a slaveholder, *as such*, has no rights which any human being is bound to respect—no right to life, to liberty, or the pursuit of happiness—but from the moment he is in heart and purpose a slaveholder, he becomes an outlaw in the moral universe, a fit subject for the dread detestation and execration of man, and the sure retributions of the just judgments of God.

Resolved, That the American Constitution, in requiring the rendition of fugitive slaves, and the suppression of all attempts at insurrection on the part of the slaves, and in making it treason, punishable with death, to aid them in such attempts to obtain their freedom, is most emphatically 'a covenant with death and an agreement with hell,' of such a character as to make its destruction one of our first services to humanity, and highest acts of worship and homage to God.

Resolved, That the governments of slaveholding States are but organized bodies of thieves and robbers; and the recent attempt at Harper's Ferry to deliver some of their victims was an act of humanity and heroism of so divine a character as that the memory of the brave men who attempted it will be held in admiration by American posterity, when the name and fame of Lafayette and Kosciusko shall have long been forgotten.

Resolved, That the African Slave Trade is already re-enacted, in fact, if not in form; and the failure of the government even to fulfil its treaty stipulations to prevent it, or to provide any rigorous measures for its arrest, or to punish, as its own law provides, the most desperate and daring pirates who carry it on, affords but another evidence that we live under a despotism the most fearful that now curses the earth, and that cannot too soon be hurled to the deepest and most irrecoverable destruction.

Whereas, by the conditions of the American Constitution, the entire national power is pledged to suppress any insurrection among the slaves; therefore,

Resolved, That should the slaves, in the true spirit of the Revolution of 1776, ever unsheath the sword of rebellion, and attempt by violence to obtain their freedom, our strongest sympathies and our hands too (so far as we believe they can be *righteously employed*) shall always be on the side of the oppressed and against the oppressor, in defiance of all constitutions, statutes, demands or decisions to the contrary.

Resolved, That all Underground Railroads to Canada are works and ways of darkness, incompatible with our dignity as citizens, and our honor and humanity as men; and only to be endured until the Northern States enact laws, or humanize public sentiment so as to sanctify their soil against kidnapping and slave-hunting; and so make it as free to the flying fugitives from Southern despots as it now is to the exiled Hungarians and Italians, who are finding here an asylum and a home.

Resolved, That, as Abolitionists, we have faith in the power of love to overcome evil, in the potency of truth to supplant error; that we would urge all to 'cease to do evil, and learn to do well' to the slave, as the only path towards peace and safety; that it is our firm conviction that the only safety of this nation from blood is in becoming, in heart and deed, Abolitionists, without regard to what our laws, constitutions and pretended gospels may demand or teach; that if the people, the rulers, politicians and clergy will, in their blindness and narrowness of soul, refuse to act and teach the ideas of radical Anti-Slavery, they must expect worse than Harper's Ferry tragedies, or Nat Turner insurrections, Kansas border ruffianism, or Cumberland river outbreaks; and the blood shed in such fearful scenes will bear witness how dangerous it is to compromise with crime.

Resolved, That the late effort of Dr. Cheever and a few others among the clergy to form a 'Church Anti-Slavery Society,' and thus enlist the active aid of those who profess to love the slave, but do not wish to work for his freedom with those they call infidels; meeting, as it does, with evil suspicion instead of candid fellowship from the large majority of the churches and clergy; not sustained even by the New York *Independent*, with all its anti-slavery professions, their late anniversary in Boston attended by a mere handful of clergy and church-members from the thousands of professed lovers of the slave among evangelical Christians; has clearly shown how empty and poor is the love for humanity among the so-called orthodox sects.

ELISHA JONES, *President.*

RICHARD GLASIER, *Secretary.*

VIRGINIA AND MASSACHUSETTS.

Mr. Kimball, of Boston, took the floor for the purpose of calling the attention of the House to a certain subject brought before its notice on the previous day. A communication had been received from a certain Josiah Perham, and referred to the Committee on Federal Relations, dilating *in extenso* upon the beauties of the Union, and of the importance of keeping up a fraternal intercourse between the States,—and that communication likewise contained a suggestion that the Executive of the Commonwealth be authorized to invite the Legislatures of Virginia and of other States to accept of the hospitalities of our State. He had no objection to the reference, but in order to show the rapidity great measures are conceived and executed in this fast age of ours—the Legislature of Massachusetts having, in fact, taken no action whatever in the premises—he desired that the Clerk would read, for information, certain papers which he would hand to the Chair.

The Clerk of the House then read from the Alexandria (Va.) Gazette, of Feb. 13, 1860, the following, which was reported as having been received from the Executive, laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed.

'BOSTON, Mass., Feb. 1, 1860.

Hon. John Letcher, Governor of Virginia:

DEAR SIR,—I am authorized by the people of this city and vicinity, to extend an invitation to the Governor, State Officers, and members of the Legislature of Virginia, to visit Boston during the present session of the Legislature of this State.

I hope, for many reasons, this invitation will be seriously entertained and favorably acted upon by those to whom it is extended. Virginia and Massachusetts are bound together by many pleasant and memorable historic recollections.

They were settled nearly at the same time, from the same country; together they struggled with hardships and privations; each remonstrated against the oppressive acts of the mother country; and when forbearance ceased to be a virtue, both were found ready to strike united blows in defence of common rights. It was our Adams that called your Washington to the post of highest honor. It was your Washington, and other Virginians, that came to our rescue when Boston was in possession of a British army. For many years, during the closing periods of their lives, the Philosopher of Monticello and the Sage of Quincy united, as it were, in one stream, the hallowed memories of their eventful lives; and both together, on the same day, on the great Sabbath of America, passed gently through the gates of death to a glorious immortality.

States thus bound up together in the same volume of memory and history cannot be, must not be sundered. This whole community will give to our friends from Virginia a hearty and cordial welcome, and thus, I hope, the bond of our common friendship may be made strong, and our mutual confidence and respect greatly increased. I hope to be able to send you free tickets for all, or nearly the whole, of the journey from Richmond to Boston.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOSIAH PERHAM.'

The Clerk then read an editorial from the Petersburg (Va.) *Express*, of Feb. 11, from which we give the following:

• • • • 'Under ordinary circumstances, an invitation like this extended by the representatives of one sovereign State to the representatives of another, would undoubtedly possess a high moral significance, and could not be lightly declined. It would indicate such a spirit of brotherly feeling and old-fashioned devotion to a common country as could not fail to call forth an affectionate response, even if convenience made its declination compulsory. But in the present state of affairs between North and South, such a proffer of hospitality looks, to say the least of it, just a little suspicious. We do not call in question the motives of the Massachusetts legislature in the step they have taken; they may have been actuated by a sincere desire to cultivate kindly personal relations with the members of the Virginia Assembly, yet we must say

"*Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.*"

By which quotation, let it be understood, that we do not apprehend that they would kidnap the Lieutenant Governor, or put strychnine in the foaming beakers of the intended banquet. We simply mean to imply, that in the present attitude of hostility which Massachusetts occupies towards the Constitution, and the rights of Virginia under that instrument, we should distrust the value of such gifts of hollow love and simulated patriotism as she is inclined to hold out to us.

Massachusetts, as far as in her lies, has virtually dissolved the Union. She and her sister Black Republican States of the North make a very grave complaint that the South threatens to secede in the event of the election of a sectional President, because, say these purists, in holy horror, such action would be highly unconstitutional. And yet they have always done what they make a grievous charge against the South for threatening to do. The Statute Book of Massachusetts bears upon many infamous pages, acts which set the Constitution at defiance. The law-makers of that State have made war upon Virginia just as certainly, though in a very different way, as ever old John Brown did. Now, if they truly desire to bind the people of the two Commonwealths together in bonds of brotherhood, and would gladly welcome Virginia legislators to their soil in token of this fraternal wish, let them set to work and repeal, one after another, all their obnoxious and hostile State enactments. This would be a pledge of sincerity that would be hailed by us with the liveliest satisfaction. As it is, our Legislature cannot visit Boston consistently with that proper self-respect which every loyal Virginian cherishes in his "heart of hearts." But let the inimical and fanatical legislation of Massachusetts be blotted from the record, and then let this invitation be renewed, and, our word for it, the General Assembly of Virginia would journey as cheerfully and as readily to Boston, as did those gallant sons of the Old Dominion who rallied to the standard of the Revolution, set up at Cambridge, and saw the hero of Mount Vernon take command of the Continental armies near that aged elm which still waves its venerable branches under the shadow of the neighboring University. Here, beneath that patriarchal tree, the vows of brotherly attachment and of fealty to the common cause of the Union, might be interchanged in the joyous hope of a more perfect nationality in the fuller recognition of the rights of each separate and sovereign State. That this happy fraternization cannot now take place, is but too evident to everybody, and that it would be, at best, a miserable mockery of loving communion which was celebrated by festal rejoicings between men alienated by repeated wrongs on the one side, and a just sense of indignation on the other.'

Mr. Putnam, of Danvers, promptly took the floor, and addressed a few remarks condemnatory of reading such editorials as that from the clerk's desk in the Massachusetts House of Representatives.

Mr. Kimball moved that the papers be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

Mr. Haskell, of Ipswich, opposed that reference, indirectely applying to Mr. Perham terms of a most uncomplimentary character.

Mr. Putnam moved to lay the papers on the table.

Mr. Shaw, of Boston, rose to speak, but the Chair ruled debate, under a motion to lay on the table, out of order.

Mr. Hale rose to a point of order, and stated his point of order to be, that the papers were not legitimately before the House, and could not be referred or laid on the table.

The Chair ruled the point of order well taken.

Mr. Shaw said he rose to a question of privil ge. He desired to refute the allegations of the member from Ipswich, in regard to the character of Mr. Perham; and having done so, he resumed his seat, and there the subject subsided.

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A large per centage on every copy sold is secured by contract to the family of Capt. John Brown, and this work is published under their sanction and approval, as may be seen by the following letters:—

NORTH ELBA, (N. Y.) January, 1860.

We, the undersigned, members of the family, and relatives of the late Capt. JOHN BROWN, desire to express our approval and endorsement of the Biography of our honored and revered relative, written by James Redpath, and recently published by Thayer & Eldridge, of Boston, Mass. We think the work the best that can be produced on the subject at the present time, and in all matters of fact it is essentially correct, while it is written with an enthusiasm and eloquence which we thoroughly appreciate and admire.

The Publishers have issued the work in a style which recommends itself to all lovers of a handsome book, in regard to engraving, paper, printing and binding; and the friends of John Brown who wish to procure and preserve a memorial of his life and deeds will do well to provide themselves with a copy of this publication.

MARY A. BROWN, ANNIE BROWN,
SALMON BROWN, MARTHA BROWN,
ISABELL BROWN, ABBIE C. BROWN,
HENRY THOMPSON, SARAH BROWN.

THAYER & ELDRIDGE, PUBLISHERS,

114 and 116, Washington street, Boston.

Feb. 24. tf

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

SUFFOLK, ss. To the next of kin, and all other persons interested in the person of ELLEN STARR, of Boston, in said county, a minor.

WHEREAS, application has been made to me by LEWIS HOWARD, and NANCY HOWARD, wife of said Lewis, of said Boston, to adopt said minor; you are hereby cited to appear at a Probate Court, to be held at said Boston, on Monday, the nineteenth day of March next, at 10 o'clock, before noon, to shew cause, if any you have, against granting the same.

They, the said Lewis and Nancy, are hereby directed to give public notice thereof three weeks successively in the newspaper called the *Liberator*, printed in said Boston.

Given under my hand, this twenty-seventh day of February, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty. ISAAC AMES,

Judge of Probate and Insolvency.

PHRENOLOGY.

BY urgent request, Prof. N. WHEELER, well known as a scientific and truthful Phrenologist, has opened rooms at 99 Court street, corner of Hanover, Boston, where he will make Phrenological Examinations, give written delineations of Character, and furnish Charts; heal the sick, impart instructions relative to health and habits, and the management of children.

March 4. tf